UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 00019118 9
UNIV. OF
TORONTO
LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2009 with funding from
Ontario Council of University Libraries

http://www.archive.org/details/religioussystem05groo

# THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM OF CHINA.

THE

# RELIGIOUS SYSTEM

OF

# CHINA

*Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect.*
*Manners, Customs and Social Institutions connected therewith.*

BY

J. J. M. DE GROOT, PH. D.

PUBLISHED WITH A SUBVENTION FROM THE DUTCH
COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

VOLUME V

**BOOK II**

ON THE SOUL AND ANCESTRAL WORSHIP

**Part II, Demonology. — Part III, Sorcery.**

LIBRAIRIE ET IMPRIMERIE
ci-devant
E. J. BRILL
LEIDE — 1907

895-49
48108.

All rights reserved.

BL
(80)
C67
v 5

PRINTED BY E. J. BRILL, AT LEYDEN.

# CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME V.

---


Page

**Book II. The Soul, and Ancestral Worship.**

PART II. DEMONOLOGY . . . . . 465.

*Chapter I.* On the Omnipresence and Multitude of Spectres . . . . . 470.

» *II.* On Spectres of Mountains and Forests . . 495.

» *III.* On Water-Demons . . . . . 521.

» *IV.* On Ground-Demons . . . . . 535.

» *V.* On Animal-Demons . . . . . 542.

1. Tiger-Demons . . . . . 544.
2. Wolf-Demons . . . . . 563.
3. Dog-Demons . . . . . 571.
4. Fox-Demons . . . . . 576.
5. Various Wild Mammals as Demons . . 600.
6. Domestic Animals in Demonology . . . 609.
7. Reptile-Spectres . . . . . 622.
8. Bird-Demons . . . . . 634.
9. Piscine Devils . . . . . 644.
10. Insects as Demons . . . . . 648.

» *VI.* On Plant-Demons . . . . . 652.

» *VII.* Lifeless Things as Spectres . . . . . 664.

» *VIII.* Demonism in Pathology . . . . . 675.

» *IX.* On Suicide-Spectres . . . . . 714.

» *X.* Spectres with a Material Body. Vampirism. 723.

» *XI.* Anthropophagous and Necrophagous Spectres 762.

» *XII.* On Ghosts and Spectres appearing at Deaths. 769.

» *XIII.* Black Calamities . . . . . 778.

» *XIV.* Additional Particulars . . . . . 785.

» *XV.* The World of Spectres a Copy of that of Man 802.

Page

PART III. SORCERY . . . . . 813.

*Chapter* *I.* Infliction of Evil by means of one's own Soul or that of a Quadruped . . . . 817.

» *II.* Sorcery by means of small Reptiles and Insects 826.

Remedies for Ku . . . . . 861.

» *III.* Infliction of Evil by means of Human Souls 870.

» *IV.* Sorcery by means of Souls of Objects . . 908.

» *V.* Other Forms of Sorcery . . . . . 914.

# PART II.

## DEMONOLOGY.

At the commencement of this Part, devoted to a description of the Chinese world of spectres, devils or demons, it is necessary to repeat what has been said in Ch. XV of Part I on the fundamental conceptions about those beings. We saw there, that though every shen and kwei may work both good and evil, yet the special function of the kwei, in their quality of particles of the Yin, or that Breath of the Universe which is identified with darkness, cold, death and destruction, is to act as maleficent spirits, and as rewarders of good and punishers of evil under the supreme control of Heaven. We have further seen there, that many of them are ghosts of the dead, and therefore possess human attributes, and that they appear to the living under a great variety of circumstances, keeping up friendly or unfriendly intercourse with them. Finally, Chapter XVI of Part I has showed us, that such human spectres exercise retributive justice on those who harmed them during their life.

We have now to sketch in a series of chapters the prominent part which the demon-world plays in the mind and religion of the Chinese people, and the widespread customs which have arisen therefrom in their domestic and social life. In fulfilling this task, we shall steadfastly pursue the same path we have hitherto followed in this work, and treat the subject historically; that is to say, we shall continually look into the past for light upon notions and customs still extant or already obsolete, and thus trace out their antiquity and development. This method will also have the advantage of bringing out in strong relief the great fact, which always forces itself prominently upon the notice of every serious student of the Chinese nation: that its present in almost every respect is its past, and its past its present.

Though we mostly find, from the earliest times, maleficent spirits

denoted in literature by the character 鬼 kwei, and occasionally by 神 shen, still other written names for them exist; but they are actually obsolete, or nearly so, and we do not find them used in writings of the past and the present except as a pedantic display of learning. As such we have 機 or 魕, ki, only mentioned by Liu Ngan, who wrote: "The people of King have their kwei, and those of Yueh their ki"[1]. The *Shwoh wen* gives us the term 魖 hü, attesting that it means "a destructive, evil spectre"[2], and the Khanghi Dictionary has the following series: 魦 sih; 魿 ling; 魅 soh; 魏 or 魑 chʿé; 魒 yun; 魔 luh; 魒, 魒, or 魒, yiu; 魒 kiang; 魒 wei; and furthermore, 魒 chʿiao, a slightly mischievous spectre; 魒 teng, a spectre in the air; 魒 kuh, a headless spectre; 魒 kih, a rain-spectre: and 魒 lei, a thunder-spectre. Probably most of these rare characters are written forms of local terms, either formerly in use, or still employed here or there. None of them occurs in the Classics. Much oftener we find in the books the terms 魔 mo, and 夜叉 ya-chʿa, as transcriptions of the Indian terms Māra and Yaksha, imported by Buddhism. They need not occupy us until we treat of this religion. There exist a few special terms for certain classes of spectres, which we shall duly mention in speaking of those classes.

Likewise, the influences which spectres exercise in the world of men, or the effects thereof, are denoted by special terms. In the first place we have one which means pernicious or baleful in general, viz. 凶 hiung. We have seen on page 416 that Wang Chʿung used this word in this sense as early as the first century of our era. It stands as the opposite of 吉 kih, felicity, which the shen or good spirits and gods bestow, especially in requital of sacrifices offered to them. Another common term expressive of the harmful influences of spectres, is 妖 yao, with which the reader has made acquaintance on page 430. But no word of the same meaning is used with so much frequency as 邪 sié.

To understand this word, the reader has to recall to mind what he learned in this work as the great fundamental tenet of China's Cosmology, Philosophy, Psychology and Theology, namely that the shen constitute the Yang and the kwei the Yin, and that,

1 荆人鬼、越人機. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. 18.

2 秅(耗)鬼也. Chapt. IX, 1.

whereas the Yang and the Yin constitute the Tao or Course of Nature, the shen and the kwei are the forces by which the Tao operates. Further we have to realize the doctrine that the Tao represents all that is "correct, normal, or right" in the Universe, that is to say, 正 ching or 端 twan, including all correct and righteous dealings of men and spirits, which alone eminently, nay exclusively, promote universal happiness and life. All other acts, as they oppose the Tao, are puh ching 不正 or puh twan 不端, "abnormal, incorrect", or, as it is specially expressed, 邪 sié or 淫 yin. Yin essentially means overflowing as water, excessive, surpassing due limits, and therefore comprises also the sense of evil in general; which is also the case with sié. Both words occur in the Classics, and therefore are of a great age.

It is clear that both among men and spectres there may be such anti-natural actions which are sié or yin. They are all detrimental to the good of the world, destroy the prosperity and peace which are the highest good of man, and, as a consequence, all good, beneficial government; they may thus endanger the world and the Throne. If they proceed from men, they ought to be combated by everybody, and eradicated; it is the natural duty of right-minded, orthodox rulers and statesmen to persecute such heresies, and even the thoughts and sayings which produce them, the more so as they may be detrimental to virtue and morality, without which humanity cannot possibly prosper, nor durably exist. And when such actions proceed from spirits, a defensive war should be waged against them by man, with or without the help of his good spirits and gods; they should be combated, repulsed, driven away and exorcised, if possible annihilated, by artful expedients. Man in the course of time has contrived quite an abundance of these; properly speaking that warfare never pauses, and is carried on quite systematically every day throughout the empire. We shall have to devote the fourth Part of this Book to its description.

The sié then are, as the Chinese themselves explain it, 不正之氣, "abnormal, incorrect breaths or influences", or 鬼氣, "spectral influences". They are, of course, also called puh tao 不道 or "not tao", that is to say, not in harmony with the correct course or laws of Nature. We need hardly add, that whereas the word sié always suggests spectres, it actually has got the meaning of "spectre" or "spectral".

The work of spirits is also called 祟 sui. This character seems

to mean what is produced or emitted (出) by spiritual manifestation (示); indeed, the learned Yen Shi-ku attests this in his commentary on the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, as he says: "That graphic "sign is composed of 出 and 示, the latter component indicating "that sui means that by which the kwei and the shen manifest "themselves to man" [1]. It is a character of respectable age, as it occurs in the *Tso ch'uen*.

Finally we have to mention the terms sheng 眚, and 災 ts'ai, which we may translate by calamities inflicted by nature. These too are very old. They occur in the Canon of Shun, one of the oldest parts of the *Shu king*. There we find the phrase: "he pardoned "(his officials) if calamities (not caused by them) occurred; but if "they offended presumptuously and persistently, he punished them "with the death of rebels" [2]. In another section of the *Shu king*, which is a kind of instruction given to a prince on his investiture with a feudal state, we read: "If men are responsible for slight "evil which is not caused by calamities (sheng), but merely by "their persistent doings and their voluntary acts, unlawfully, pur- "posely — although that evil for which they are responsible be "small, you may not but put them to death. And when men have "to answer for great evil which is not caused by their persistent "doings, but only by calamities (sheng and ts'ai), or accidentally, "if they make a complete confession of their guilt, you may not "put them to death" [3].

The same Classic also mentions sometimes "heavenly calamities" [4], or calamities sent down (降) by Heaven, which no doubt means calamities inflicted by this supreme natural power through the agency of its spectres. Ts'ai and sheng also occur in the *Yih king* in the same sense, and ts'ai, besides, in some other Classics [5].

---

[1] 其字從出從示、示者鬼神所以示人也. Khien-lung edition of the Books of the Early Han Dyn., ch. 45, l. 15.

[2] 眚災肆赦、怙終賊刑.

[3] 人有小罪、非眚、乃惟終、自作、不典、式爾、有厥罪小、乃不可不殺。乃有大罪、非終、乃惟眚災、適爾、既道極厥辜時乃不可殺. Sect. 康誥, "the Announcement of Khang".

[4] 天災.

[5] Sheng is also considered to have in classical and other pre-Christian literature the meaning of offences committed involuntarily or inadvertently.

We need, of course, hardly add that yet other terms expressing misfortune are used to denote the work of spectres. Nor need we state that the spectres and their baleful work are regularly confounded together and, as a consequence, most of the terms given above virtually occur as denominations for the spectres themselves. This is more particularly the case with yao, sié, sui, and sheng. Imagination has even created a special category of spectres, called hoh sheng 黑眚 or Black Calamities, of which we shall speak in Chapter XIII.

# CHAPTER I.

## ON THE OMNIPRESENCE AND MULTITUDE OF SPECTRES.

The dogma, prevailing in China from the earliest times, that the Universe is filled in all its parts with shen and kwei, naturally implies that devils and demons must also swarm about the homes of men in numbers inestimable. It is, in fact, an axiom which constantly comes out in conversing with the people, that they haunt every frequented and lonely spot, and that no place exists where man is safe from them. Even the privy is not respected, and the numerous narratives, transmitted by books and by word of mouth about people frightened, maltreated and killed there, point explicitly to a tendency of spectres to select preferably for their cruel and malign exploits those malodorous spots, where man is so lonely and helpless. Public roads are infested and haunted by them everywhere, especially during the night, when the power of the yin part of Nature, to which spectres belong especially, is strongest. Numerous, in fact, are the tales of wretches who, having been accosted by such natural foes of man, were found dead on the roadside without the slightest wound or injury being visible: their souls had simply been snatched out of them. Many victims of such encounters could find their way home, but merely to die miserably there shortly after. Others, hit by devilish arrows, got boils or tumors which carried them off, or died even without any such visible marks of the shots. And how many wayfarers have fallen in with whole gangs of demons, with whom they engaged in pitched battles. They might stand their ground most heroically, and ultimately worst their assailants; yet, hardly at home, they succumbed to sickness and death. And who could number the houses haunted by spectres which brought disease and death on the inmates, and thus rendered those houses virtually uninhabitable? "In Tung-lai (prov. of Shan-"tung) there was a dwelling where the Ch'en clan lived, over a "hundred strong. One fine morning the (water in the) boiler on "which the food was being steamed, would not bubble. They lifted

"up the pot containing the food, and glanced into the boiler, "when lo! a greybeard rose out of it. This event led them to "go to a diviner. 'This is an important apparition', this man said, "'which portends the destruction of a family; go home, make "weapons in great numbers, and have them placed against the "walls at the gate: then fasten the gate firmly on the inside, and "should horsemen appear with banners and canopies and knock at "the door — beware of answering them'.

"With this advice they went home. All hands armed, and more "than a hundred weapons were procured, which they placed against "the rooms flanking the gate. Indeed, some men appeared; but "however loudly they shouted, no answer was given them. Their "leader, enraged by that silence, ordered them to scale the gate. "But no sooner had his men cast a glance behind it and seen those "hundred weapons of all sizes, than they retreated from the gate "to report to him. The news threw the leader into great conster- "nation. 'Tell our men to come here immediately!' he exclaimed "to those that stood by, 'if they do not forthwith come, not one "will get away from here; how shall I then escape punishment! "Some eighty miles hence to the north, one hundred and thirty "people live; let us take them instead'. Ten days afterwards this "whole family had died out. It also belonged to the Ch'en clan"[1].

Not even the establishments of virtuous monasticism are exempt from attacks of the malicious demon world. "In the Lung-ch'ing "district[2] there was a Buddhist monastery, named Tung-ko, which

---

[1] 東萊有一家姓陳、家百餘口。朝炊釜不沸。舉甑看之、忽有一白頭公從釜中出。便詣師卜。卜云、此大怪應滅門、便歸、大作械、械成使置門壁下、堅閉門在內、有馬騎麾蓋來扣門者、愼勿應。

乃歸。合手伐、得百餘械、置門屋下。果有人至、呼不應。主帥大怒、令緣門入。從人闚門內見大小械百餘、出門還說如此。帥大惶惋。語左右云、教速來、不速來遂無一人當去、何以解罪也。從此北行可八十里有一百三口、取以當之。後十日此家死亡都盡。此家亦姓陳云. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 17.

2 At present Ts'in-ngan 秦安, in Kansuh.

"exercised a mysterious attraction. From its lofty balconies the wide "horizon could be contemplated, and its windows opening on the "celestial orb gave access to the wind. Tourists (visiting the place in "crowds) caused it to look like a busy market.

"One fine day there began to occur there ill-boding and strange things. "Pot-sherds were thrown down from the air, and dust was whirled "up, so that nobody dared to stand upright, and the resident monks "found no rest at night. Their garments and religious instruments "disappeared now and then, and were recovered afterwards. A Taoist "doctor heard of it. 'Whence have those ill-boding spirits the courage "to do such things?' he said; 'I can expel them'. And the monks, "very glad to hear it, hastened to invite him to their home.

"The doctor strode through the gate. He stepped the Yü dance "in the great temple, and muttered the incantations of the celestial "p'eng plant in a very harsh tone of voice. After a good while "he missed his bonnet, and the bystanders clearly saw it flung "through the air over the wall. When he had recovered it, and "fixed it on his head with a throat-band, he went on reciting "his incantations and striding round the place, but successively "his robe was taken off him, his girdle was loosened, and his "trousers slipped off; and when even his cowl in which he had "his written charms and other requirements for his arts, disappeared "in a moment, he slunk away like a wolf. Several days after this, "the cowl was found at the bottom of a hedge-row by a neighbouring "villager while digging in the ground [1].

---

[1] 隴城縣有東柯僧院、甚有幽致。高檻可以眺遠、虛窻可以來風。游人如市。

忽一日有妖異起。空中擲下瓦礫、扇揚灰塵、人莫敢正立、居僧晚夕不安。衣裝道具有時失之、復得。有道士者聞之。曰、妖精安敢如是、余能去之。院僧甚喜、促召至。

道士入門。於殿上禹步、誦天篷呪、其聲甚厲。良久失其冠、人見其空中擲過垣牆矣。復取之、結纓而冠、誦呪不已逡巡、衣褫帶解袴並失、隨身有小襆、貯符書法要、頃時又失之、道士遂狼狽而竄。累日後鄰村有人於藩籬之下掘土獲其襆。

"The prefect of the district, Tu Yen-fan, an upright and straight-
"forward man, went in person to the spot to see what had hap-
"pened. 'How is it that such things come to pass here?' he
"exclaimed. He then sat down cross-legged, while the spectres flung
"down from the air a disorderly mixture of written leaflets in
"countless numbers, bearing for the most part complete sentences
"full of insults and malice. No sooner had the prefect deciphered
"the contents of one or two and understood their meaning, than
"he too hurried home. Still an inspector, Wang Chao-wei by name,
"relied enough on his blood and breath (innate power) to resort
"boldly to the spot and scold and revile (the spectres); but scarcely
"had he arrived, when a big stone smote him in the loins, and
"sent him back" [1].

Ghosts of improperly buried dead, haunting dwellings with injurious effect, and not laid until re-buried decently, are the subject of many written tales. But these tales are of little interest; hence we confine ourselves to referring the reader to the one we gave on page 445. Naughty demons and devils do not even respect the deep recesses of Imperial harems. We read, for example, "that the "Forbidden City was haunted in the Süen hwo period (1119—1126) "by a being known as lai, a lumpish thing without head or "eyes. Its hands and feet were covered with hair shining as "varnish. When at midnight a thundering noise was heard [2], the "people in the Forbidden City all cried: 'The lai is coming!' "and they bolted the doors of all buildings. Sometimes the spectre "lay down in the bed of a lady of the harem, which was "then felt to be warm; and at daybreak it rolled out of the bed "and disappeared, nobody knowing where it had gone. And when "the ladies of the harem dreamed that they were sleeping with some-"body, that somebody was the lai" [3].

---

[1] 縣令杜延範正直之人也、自往觀之。曰、安有此事至。則箕踞而坐、妖於空中拋小書帖紛紛然、不知其數、多成絕句凌謔。杜令記其一二、覺之、亦遽還。又有巡官王昭緯恃其血氣方剛往而詬詈、至則爲大石中腰而廻. *Yuh t'ang hien hwa*; K K, ch. 367.

[2] The word lai in its written form 獾 shows a dog (犭) and thunder.

[3] 宣和間禁中有物曰獾、塊然一物、無頭眼。手

Being assimilated with the Yin or the dark half of the Universe, ghosts are bound to confine their deeds of evil especially to the night-time, more particularly to the deepest part of it, that is to say, the third watch, which lasts from eleven to one. In defiance, however, of this natural law, they go out for mischief very often in broad daylight and under the brightest sun.

"In Ch'ang-shan, an aged sire, Ngan by name, had a passion for "agricultural work. Once in autumn, when the buckwheat was ripe "and cut, and stood in stacks on the higher parts of the ground "and in the field-paths, he told his labourers to take advantage "of the moonlight and bring their loaded wains to the place where "the grain was to be piled up, corn-thieves being known to live in "the nearest village. And while the full wains were on their way "home, he remained on the spot, to guard the rest.

"His head resting upon his lance, he lies down under the open "sky, and his eye-lids droop, when suddenly he hears the crackling "noise of human feet on the dry buckwheat stubble. 'Here the "rude visitors are', he thinks, quickly raising up his head; but "a tall devil it is, upwards of one chang in height, with red "hair and tangled beard. It is already so near, that in his terror "time fails him to devise anything better than to jump up "and stab at the monster. With a thundering shout the spectre "vanishes, and the old man, fearing its return, shoulders his lance "and walks home.

"On the way he falls in with his labourers, to whom he relates "his adventure, warning them not to go to the spot; but they do "not altogether believe him. Next day, as they are sunning grain "in the threshing-floor, they suddenly hear a noise in the air. "'There is the spectre again', the old man cries, terror-stricken, "and he takes to his heels, everybody following his example. The

---

足有毛如漆。中夜有聲如雷、禁中人皆云猸來、諸閤皆扃戶。或往諸嬪妃榻中睡、以手撫之亦温暖、曉則自榻滾下而去、罔知所在。後宮妃嬪夢中有與同寢者、即此猸也. *Yung o man pih* 養痾漫筆, a small collection of miscellanies relating to the Sung period, by Chao Tsin 趙溍, named also Yuen-tsin 元普, who was prefect of Kien-ning fu 建寧府, in Fuhkien, in the Hien shun period (1265—1275). Extracted from the TS, sect. 庶徵, ch. 163

Pl. II.

An Attack of a Spectre.

— "the demon snaps at his forehead, and vanishes."

"next hour sees them back in the same place, and the old sire "orders them to put a great number of bows and cross-bows "handy against the spectre's return. Next day it re-appears indeed. "Several arrows at once whistle through the air, which so scare "the spectre that it vanishes, to return no more for two or three "days. The corn is then in the granary, but the straw is lying "still scattered about. The old man gives orders to stack it. He "himself is on the stack to tread the straw down; but ere it has "risen a few feet high, he suddenly scans the distance and exclaims "affrighted: 'The spectre is coming!' Every one looks to his bow "and his arrows, but the monster is already upon the aged sire; "he falls down, the demon snaps at his forehead, and vanishes. "The crowd hurries up to the stack to look at the old man. A piece "of his forehead-bone, as large as the palm of a hand, is quite "gone, and he lies insensible, recognizing nobody. They take him "to his house, where he dies. The spectre appeared no more, and it "is unknown what apparition this was"[1].

The story of the clan in Tung-lai (p. 471), among which so terrible a havoc was made by spectres, has taught us that they often band

---

[1] 長山安翁者性喜操農功。秋間蕎熟刈堆隴畔時近村有盜稼者、因命佃人乘月輦運登場。俟其裝載歸而自留邏守。

遂枕戈露臥、目稍瞑、忽聞有人踐蕎根咋咋作響。心疑暴客、急舉首、則一大鬼高丈餘、赤髮鬖鬖。去身已近、大怖、不遑他計踴身暴起狠刺之。鬼鳴如雷而逝、恐其復來、荷戈而歸。

迎佃人於途、告以所見、且戒勿往、衆未深信。越日曝麥於場、忽聞空際有聲。翁駭曰、鬼物來矣、乃奔、衆亦奔。移時復聚、翁命多設弓弩以俟之。翌日果復來。數矢齊發、物懼而遁、二三日竟不復來。麥既登倉、禾黍雜遝。翁命收積爲垛。親登而踐實之、高至數尺忽遙望、駭曰、鬼物至矣。衆急覓弓矢、物已奔公、公仆、齕其額而去。共登視。則去額骨如掌、昏不知人。負至家中、遂卒。後不復見、不知其何怪也. *Liao-chai chi i*, ch. 13, 蕎中怪.

together in gangs and hordes, armed, equipped and led by chieftains quite like terrestrial troops and armies. Kwei ping[1] or "spectral warriors", and their feats, form in fact a main feature of China's Demonology.

Already on page 445 we saw them appear on the side of Shi Wan-sui as his auxiliaries against rebels and enemies, in reward for his good treatment of the bones of their general. We read also in the Books of the Tsin Dynasty: When Sun Ngen attacked "the Hwui-khi region, Wang Ning-chi was entreated by his "fellow-officers to take measures against him; but instead of doing "so, he retired into a cell to pray. On coming forth from it, "he said to his generals: 'I have besought the Great Tao to "allow spectral soldiers to help us; the enemy therefore will be "defeated'. Thus neglecting all preparations, he was killed by "Sun Ngen"[2].

Especially singular it is to read of such hosts of spectres setting whole towns and countries in commotion, and demoralizing the people so thoroughly as to compel the authorities to intervene. "Groundless rumours about spectre-soldiers were abroad in Tsin-"yang (in Shansi pr.) in the third year of the Ho ts'ing period "(A.D. 564). The people, to drive them away, beat emulously on "copper and iron implements[3]. — And in the twenty-third[4] year "of the Ching yuen period, in the sixth month, when the em-"peror was sojourning in the Eastern Capital, the people affrighted "each other with spectre-soldiers, and all fled, quite at a loss "where to stay, here and there thronging, beating, maiming and "wounding each other. At first the spectre-soldiers crossed at the "south of the Loh river, causing tumultuous hubbub in the wards "and markets, and by and by they arrived on the northern banks.

---

[1] 鬼兵.

[2] 孫恩之攻會稽、蔡佐請爲之備、王凝之不從、方入靖室請禱。出語諸將佐曰、吾已請大道許鬼兵相助、賊自破矣。既不設備、遂爲孫恩所害. Ch. 80, f. 10.

[3] 河清三年晉陽訛言有鬼兵。百姓競擊銅鐵以捍之 Books of the Northern Tsi Dyn., ch. 7, f. 4, also the Histories of the North, ch. 8, f. 4.

[4] This must be a misprint. The Ching yuen period embraced no more than twenty years, from A.D. 785—804.

"When they crossed the stream, a rattling noise was heard in "the air as of thousands and myriads of chariots escorted by "soldiers and cavalry, and then suddenly the passage was finished. "Every night they thus crossed the river twice or thrice. The "emperor was highly displeased at the matter; he ordered his "wu and his Invokers to subdue them by means of sacrifices, and "to set out every evening food and drink for them on the banks "of the Loh" [1].

"In the second year of the Kien chung period of the T'ang "dynasty (A.D. 781) false rumours circulated in the regions of "the Yang-tszĕ and the Hwai about spectres coming from Hunan. "Some called them hairy demons, while others declared them "to be hairy men. It was reported that various tales were told "of them, and nothing could be done with success against them "in their variable forms. People would have it that they were "bent on eating the hearts of men, but kidnapped young chil- "dren of both sexes entire. Frightened out of their wits, people "often crowded together in their houses, kept up flaming fires "at night, and lacked courage to sleep; they armed themselves "with bows and swords, and each time when the devils entered "a house, all other families beat on wooden boards and copper "utensils, thus producing a noise which shook heaven and earth. "Some died of frantic terror. Such was the state of things every- "where. The mandarins interfered, but they were powerless to put "a stop to the matter [2].

---

[1] 貞元二十三年、夏六月、帝在東京、百姓相驚以鬼兵、皆奔走、不知所在、或自衝擊破傷。其鬼兵初過於洛水之南、坊市喧喧、漸至水北。聞其過時空中如數千萬騎甲兵人馬嘈嘈有聲、俄而過盡。每夜過再至于三。帝惡之、使巫祝禳厭、每夜於洛水濱設飲食. *Ki wen* 紀聞, "Recorded Information", perhaps the work in ten chapters which was written in the ninth century by Niu Suh 牛肅 and is mentioned in the New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 59, l. 19. It may be, however, the work in one chapter which is mentioned in the *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 216, l. 14. We quote from the K K, ch. 331.

[2] 唐建中二年江淮訛言有厲鬼自湖南來。或曰毛鬼、或曰毛人。報不恒其稱、而鬼變化無方。人言鬼好食人心、少女稚男全取之。民恐懼多

"A former Judge of Merit of Yen-cheu, Liu Ts'an by name, "had been on duty in Hwai and Szĕ (in Nganhwui pr.), and "therefore dwelt in Kwang-ling with half a dozen sons, fellows "all strong and brave. With them he kept watch by night, armed "with bows and arrows. For the protection of his many daughters "they barred the hall on the inside, and the young men were "going their rounds, when after midnight the sky was darkened "and alarming cries of 'the spectres are here!' were heard in the "hall. The lads are startled, but the door being barred, they cannot "enter to run to the rescue, and they must content themselves "with keeping on the alert and peeping into the hall. They behold "a being like a couch; it has hairs and prickles like a hedge-"hog; it measures from three to four feet in height and has legs "on the four sides, on which it hurries around in the hall. "At its side another spectre moves, black-haired, naked, and with "claws and teeth like swords. It seizes the youngest daughter, and "puts her on the hairy couch; then it grasps the other girl, "but at this critical moment the brave lads push down the wall "and enter. They shoot their arrows into the couch, and it runs "away with the other spectre; in a moment the latter vanishes, "while the couch runs eastward. Now it is hit so truly by a hundred "and more arrowshots, that it cannot fly any further. One of the "men catches it, grasps the bristles, with all his might gallops along "with it, and immediately both tumble from the river-bridge. 'I have "my arms around the spectre!' he cries, 'it is brought to bay; be "quick; to the rescue with light!' And by the light they find him — "with his arms round a pillar of the bridge. Liu with his sons all "have nail-wounds, and the youngest girl is lying on the road"[1].

聚居、夜烈火、不敢寐、持弓刀以備、每鬼入一家、萬家擊板及銅器爲聲、聲振天地。人有狂懾而死者。所在如此。官禁、不能息

[1] 前兗州功曹劉參者舊業淮泗、因家廣陵、有男六人、皆好勇。劉氏率其子操弓矢夜守。有數女、閨堂內、諸郎巡外、夜半後天色暝晦、忽聞堂中驚叫言鬼已在堂中。諸郎駭、既閉戶無因入救、乃守窺之。見一物、方如牀、毛蝟如蝟、高三四尺、四面有足、轉走堂內。旁又有鬼、玄毛、披

Even Emperors from the height of their throne have interfered with such spectre-plagues. In 1378, when the great founder of the Ming dynasty had worn the crown for eleven years, Chu Liang-tsu, feudal ruler of Yung-kia, a martial grandee who had acted a prominent part in the establishment of his lord's sway over China, "reported to the Throne that the open country in the two districts "of Ngan-tung and Muh-yang (in Kiangsi, on the Hwang-ho) was "so much infested by nocturnal kwei, that the population lived "in a state of alarm. The Emperor then composed a decree, by "which a commissioner was sent to that country to warn those "spectres and offer sacrifices to them. That officer spoke to them "as follows[1]:

"'In this World of Light we have ceremonies and music, and "the World of Darkness has its kwei and its shen. The sacri- "fices the Imperial House has to offer, serve for ruling the people; "but the sacrifices of the people extend not further than to their "ancestors; all sacrifices which they might offer to other beings "are not agreeable to the shen, on account of their being incon- "sistent with the Rites. The spirits of the principal mountains, the "seas and streams, and all other mountains and rivers which have "a place in the State Canon of Sacrificial Worship, have all without "exception to accept orders from the Supreme Emperor (of Heaven) "and from the God of Earth about the way in which they are "to exercise their power to bestow felicity on good men and to "visit the bad with misfortune. Hence, whenever felicity and mis-

---

體、爪牙如劍。把小女置毛牀上、更撟次女、事且迫矣、諸郎壞壁而入。以射毛牀、毛牀走、其鬼亦走、須臾失鬼所在、而毛牀東奔。中鏃百數、且不能走。一人撟得、抱其毛、力趕之、食頃俱墮河梁。大呼曰、我今抱得鬼、鬼困、急以火相救。及以火照之、但見抱橋柱耳。劉子盡爪損、小女遺於路. *T'ung yiu ki* 通幽記, perhaps the little work in one chapter of Ch'en Shao 陳邵, mentioned in ch. 59 of the Books of the T'ang Dynasty, l. 20. We quote from the K K, ch. 339.

[1] 洪武十一年永嘉侯朱亮祖奏安東沐陽二縣之野暮夜多鬼、民人皆驚。御製勅文、遣使諭祭之。曰、

"fortune are distributed in an erroneous way, so that the people "feel dissatisfied, we have to report to Heaven the wrong they suffer.

"On the 14th of the fourth month of this year, which is the "eleventh of the Hung wu period, an emissary from the feudal "ruler of Yung-kia brought to Us the message that in the "country of the districts of Ngan-tung and Muh-yang several hun- "dreds of beings at night appear with torches, sometimes in close "files, at other times spread abroad in all directions. When the "affrighted people try to drive them away, they become invisible, "and when they assail them, some seem to return the blows. As "We could not believe him in every respect, We now send sacri- "ficial victims and must, convoke the kwei and shen, and warn "and interrogate them in the following terms:

"'Since the Yuen dynasty has been dethroned, the people in "the Middle Kingdom, thrown into mud and upon burning coals "(smarting under all sorts of calamity), have died in untold num- "bers. Among these victims there are many to whom the sacri- "fices have been discontinued because of the destruction of their "clan, and many also who, being separated in their lives from their "parents, wives and children, died before the time fixed by their "natural destiny. You, torch-bearing spectres, are you perchance of "those forlorn souls belonging to nobody, anxious to receive sacrifices "from the living? Or are you beings separated for ever from your "parents, wives and children, and feeling exasperated because of "that? Or have you been killed undeservedly, without vengeance "having been rendered for it? Or do you feel irritated because the "government has been remiss in offering the regular annual sacri- "fices to you? To one of those four categories you are sure to "belong; so We place those four questions before you; tell Us now "what is the cause of your behaviour? Ourselves since Our acces- "sion to the throne have sacrificed to the shen without falling "short in any of the statutory ritual rescripts; but you have no "right to demand any sacrifices which We are not in duty bound "to offer. Torch-bearing spectres, bring mishap on all whosoever "deserve it, but confer felicity on those who deserve to be happy, "and do not do any evil to people inconsiderately, thereby bringing "upon yourself the punishments of Heaven"[1].

---

[1] 明有禮樂、幽有鬼神。國之有祀以爲民也、庶民之祀止于祖宗、非祖宗而祀謂之非禮、神

Nineteen years later, the same Son of Heaven had to wield his exorcising sceptre anew on behalf of his harassed subjects in the same region. "In the thirtieth year of his reign, the country out-"side the suburbs of Ngan-tung was haunted by kwei wandering "about in broad daylight, and making noise in troops of hundreds, "nay thousands. The emperor Kao prepared a writing, and sacri-"ficed to them, and then the spectres ceased" [1].

Such spectre-panics are also stated to have taken place in other parts of the empire. "According to the General Memoirs relating to "Szĕ-ch'wen, kwei entered the bazaars of Wu-lung in the twenty-"third year of the Kia tsing period (A.D. 1544), and carried "people on their shoulders" [2]. "And according to the General "Memoirs bearing on Kwangsi province, there were yao and

---

亦不享。其岳鎮海瀆山川之神載之祀典者莫不承上帝后土之命、以司福善禍淫之權。若禍福僭忒、不愜民心、且將覆戾于天矣。

今洪武十一年四月十四日永嘉侯遣人奏安東沭陽二縣之野夜持炬者數百、或成列、或四散。民人相驚逐之不見、擊之若有應者。朕不能盡信、特致牲醴、會鬼神而勅問之。

中原自有元失政、生民塗炭、死者不可勝計。有覆宗絕祀者、有生離父母妻子而死于非命者。爾持炬者豈無主孤魂而欲人之祀與。父母妻子之永隔而有遺恨與。無罪遭殺而冤未伸與。或有司怠于歲祀而有忿與。四者必有一焉、朕以四事問爾、果何爲而然與。朕自卽位以來祀神未嘗缺禮、然非當祀者亦不敢佞。爾持炬者宜禍其宜禍者、而福其應福者、勿妄爲民害。自詒天憲. TS, sect. 庶徵, ch. 162.

[1] 洪武三十年安東郊外日中鬼遊、千百有聲、高帝製文祭之、乃止. From the *Kiang-nan t'ung chi* 江南通志 or General Memoirs concerning Kiang-nan; TS, *loc. cit.*

[2] 按四川總志、嘉靖二十三年武隆鬼入市肩人. TS, *cap. cit.*

"sheng (pp. 466 and 468) at work in Hung-cheu in the tenth "month of the thirty-sixth year of the same period. Before it "was made out what beings they were, it was reported that "they came from the north, and passing through Kiangsi reached "Kwangtung. Sometimes they penetrated into human dwellings "in the night, and there indulged in obscenities. Some showed "themselves in the shape of sing (a kind of ape), or as bats, "monkeys or dogs, or as black vapours apparently having tails "and claws with which they could inflict wounds, so that adul- "terers who came into contact with them, suffered death. At night "the families crowded together to withstand their attacks by beating "on gongs and drums, and holding bamboo and willow sticks. "Those spectres used to come in compact masses, but when struck "at, they dispersed, and changed into sparks quickly conglomerating "into balls, which disappeared on striking against the eaves. In the "second month of the next year they visited the department again, "and molested the villages as before, not ceasing until several months "had elapsed" [1].

About the year 1886 we found it still fresh in the memory of people at Amoy, that, eight years before, the country had generally been thrown into commotion by spectres of a very malicious character, which preyed on nothing less than the pigtails of inoffensive people. During that time of panic, very respectable gentlemen, even the highest notabilities, suddenly, in a most mysterious way, had found themselves robbed of their queue, even in broad daylight, in noisy streets, preferably while enjoying some public theatrical performance in a square or bazaar, or when visiting a shop, or even in their own houses, with securely barred doors. Such periods of "tail-cutting" [2]

[1] 按廣西通志、嘉靖三十六年冬十月橫州有妖眚。其妖未審何物、傳自北而來、歷江西及廣東。遇夜入人家淫穢。或如猩、或如蝠、或如猴如犬、或如黑氣、似有尾爪、能傷人、淫者嘗之輒斃。家家夜聚、擊鑼鼓、持竹柳枝以防之。來則聚、擊之散爲星火、頃復堆爲一毬、冲簷而去。至三十七年二月復轉至州境、村鄉驚擾如前、數月乃熄. *Op. et cap. cit.*

[2] 割辮、剪辮 or 剪割髮辮.

occur frequently. Most absurd stories are then rife, and universally believed by the populace, who, with their implicit belief in spectres and magic arts, deem nothing incredible. To some it occurs that the miscreants may be men, bad characters, bent on deriving advantage somehow or other from the prevailing excitement. Thus tumults arise, and the safety of unoffending people is placed in actual peril. Unless it be admitted by general assent that the mischief is done exclusively by invisible malignant spectres, the officials interfere, and to re-assure the populace and still the tempest of emotion, imprison persons upon whom suspicion falls, preferably sending out their yamen-runners among members of secret religious sects, severely persecuted by the Government as heretics, enemies of the old and orthodox social order, evil-intentioned outlaws, the corroding canker of humanity. In most cases their judicial examinations corroborate their pre-conceived suspicion, for they admirably understand the art of extorting by scourge and torture, even from the most obdurate temperaments, any confessions, but especially such as they beforehand have assumed to be true.

There are always, of course, during such panics clear-sighted men and women reported to have caught a glimpse of tail-cutting phantoms, and to have perceived they were tiny and of paper: an idea engendered, no doubt, by the circumstance that the Chinese are in the habit of sending paper people, servants, concubines and slaves into the other world, to serve the dead as living beings. Some authors have written on the subject. Mr. Holcombe, Acting Minister of the United States in Peking, stated in an entertaining book, published in 1895, that nearly every year in some section of the empire a perfect whirlwind of excitement suddenly springs up with no apparent cause, over what is commonly called "tail cutting". It comes and goes unexpectedly, no one knows how it began, what occasioned it, or how it may end. In such a fever, the entire mass of the population, the most intelligent as well as the most ignorant, goes wild with excitement and fear. The absurdest stories are circulated and believed. Such and such a Chinaman is walking along the street, when his queue suddenly drops off and vanishes, without any human being being near him at the time. Another man puts up his hand to coil his queue, and finds that he has none. Another falls into conversation with a stranger in the street, who suddenly vanishes, together with the man's queue. Another glances at a child, when the child gazes steadily at him, and his queue at once fades out of sight, leaving only an odour of burnt hair. These are speci-

mens of the stories told everywhere, and universally believed. It would naturally be expected that, in such emotional disturbances, the officials would concert measures to re-assure the populace. They do nothing of the sort. In all matters of superstition or belief they are hardly more enlightened than those whom they govern. "I have" — the writer assures us — "seen at least a dozen proclamations, "issued by magistrates of Peking, in times of this sort of excite- "ment, and every one was directly calculated to increase rather "than lessen the disturbance of the public mind. They commonly "began by warning the people that these were days of danger, "when every person should stay closely at home and attend to his "own affairs. They advised all to avoid strangers, see that their "doors and windows were carefully closed at all hours, on no "account to be out after dark, and to look after their children. "Some of them concluded by furnishing a sovereign protection, a "sort of patent-medicine recipe for securing the queue from harm. "This recipe in most cases was very simple. In one proclamation "it merely directed that a red and yellow cord be braided in with "the hair; in another it prescribed a medicine to be taken inter- "nally, and in another, which also prescribed a medicine, one half "was to be swallowed and the other half thrown upon a kitchen fire"[1].

It should be added that, though in such "tail-cutting" excitements every man's mouth is full of stories such as have been described, the people being thus utterly demoralized and business brought to a standstill, yet generally not the slightest tangible evidence is forthcoming that a single Chinaman has suffered the loss of one hair of his head. The basis of every one of the stories is hearsay, and each such excitement is an unaccountable, but dangerous epidemic of superstitious fear.

It is, of course, hard to admit that such panics have occurred only in later times; but the introduction by the Manchu dynasty now reigning, of the fashion of pig-tails, easy to cut, may have increased their number. In Chapter V, 4, we shall make mention of one, caused by malicious fox-elfs as early as the year 477, and of another prevailing forty years later in the then Imperial capital. They have often prevailed under the present dynasty, causing even the emperors to intervene with edicts. So did Kao Tsung in 1768. On the 29th day of the eighth month (9th Oct.) he decreed, that owing to searches made for tail-cutters by the authorities, a Mahayāna

1 The Real Chinaman, pp. 182—183.

sect [1] and a Wu-wei sect [2] had been discovered outside the walls of Su-cheu, the famous city in southern Kiangsu; it had as many as eleven chapels or meeting-places. The leaders and the principal members of all these parishes had been captured, together with the inmates and servants of the buildings, more than seventy in all. The decree refers to a precedent. Sectarianism, it declares, throve nowhere so much as in the department of Süen-hwa [3], in the far north-west of Chihli, notwithstanding frequent persecutions. On a certain occasion, while searches were being made there for tail-cutters, religious communities were discovered; the seditious among the members were punished in accordance with the Law; those who persisted in their heresy were banished to Sin-kiang (Turkestan), and the apostates were castigated with long sticks and banished within China proper, in this way to learn not to defy the laws a second time. A like event is that which has now occurred in the vice-royalty of Kiangnan; so, to nip the evil in the bud, great numbers of persons must be prosecuted, as a warning for the future. As has been done in Süen-hwa, the seditious elements and tail-cutters shall be searched for with the utmost diligence, thus to get to the very bottom of the matter; the captives shall be examined one by one as soon as possible, and condemned to punishments, without the slightest indulgence or lenity being shown [4].

And on the 21st day of the next month (31st Oct.) another Imperial resolution announced the receipt of a report from the provincial Governor of Honan respecting the arrest of sectaries in three parts of that province, and it prescribed severe punishment to be inflicted on those people and their accomplices. It has, so that edict continues, not yet been pointed out that the tail-cutting certainly proceeds from such seditious sectaries; the perpetrators of that crime have not, like the latter, headmen or leaders, but are seditious scoundrels, who, desirous of causing mischief, send out bands to commit the crime under cover of darkness, in order to keep whole districts and villages in a perpetual state of alarm and agitation, and thus to bring about revolutionary movements. Now this stamps their proceeding as the most heinous of crimes, viz. rebellion. Generally speaking it does not emanate from Buddhist or Taoist heresies, nor from people who have been led astray by reading heretical writings, but thus far have kept quiet. But

---

[1] 大乘教. [2] 無爲教. [3] 宣化.

4 *Shing hiun*; edicts of Kao Tsung, chap. 255.

when heretical sects have the courage to issue seditious and rebellious writings and sow the seeds of seduction, their ways run parallel with those of the revolutionary tail-cutters. The Governor of Honan therefore must scrupulously examine each of his prisoners on that point, in order to get hold of some clue which may lead to the detection of the chief culprits of the tail-cutting; and as soon as any certainty is obtained in this direction, he must send in a circumstantial report to the Throne. Should he discover nothing of the kind, he shall sentence his prisoners to the heaviest penalties for the crimes for which they were prosecuted [1].

Three days afterwards this decree was followed by another on the same topic. It proclaimed that the panic had first broken out in Kiangsu and Chehkiang, and not having been suppressed in time by arrest of the culprits, had spread over all the provinces of the empire. Then the emperor had felt compelled to issue edicts ordering the official world to arrest unsparingly the miscreants everywhere. But, as usual, they had done the work in a wrong manner, arrested many innocent people, and sent up to Peking a number of them, who for the most part proved guiltless, or at least not to be the chief culprits. As a consequence, the emperor ordered the arrests to be stopped; but now he commands again that the high provincial authorities shall by no means be remiss in diligently searching for disturbers of the peace.

On the fifth of the next month (13th Nov.) this decree was again followed by another. It declared that the panic had even spread over Yunnan, Kweicheu, Szé-ch'wen, and the two Kwang, and to the north as far as Shingking and Kirin, and gave new instructions to the Viceroys and Governors for the suppression of the evil. A further edict, which appeared twelve days later, informs us of the arrest by the authorities in the Kiangsu vice-royalty of two Buddhist priests, who distributed charms and papers inscribed with red characters purporting to counteract the evil, a practice which had also been reported before from Hukwang. The emperor demands prosecution of those priests, who, using the name of Chang, the Celestial master, seriously misled the people; and whereas all that tail-cutting probably is a crafty plot of scoundrels wishing by the sale of charms to make money out of the consternation, the Viceroy should diligently avail himself of the capture of those priests to search for clues which may lead to discovery of the guilty.

---

1 *Shing hwui*; decrees of Kao Tsung, chap. 255.

These edicts plainly show, that in that memorable year 1768 the panic swept over nearly the whole empire, occupying the minds of the authorities high and low, although they did not themselves share the belief that it was the work of spectres. That this belief was that of the people generally, the sale of charms proves. It is worth notice that this craze is mentioned by a European then living in China. Father Ventavon wrote in a letter reproduced in the Lettres Edifiantes (vol. XXIII, p. 561): "Dans le milieu de l'année "1768 il s'était répandu dans diverses provinces des bruits qui ne "laissaient pas d'inquiéter le Gouvernement. Plusieurs se plaignaient "qu'on leur avait coupé furtivement leur queue; la coupure de "cette queue était suivie, à ce qu'on disait, de défaillances, d'éva- "nouissements, et de la mort même, si on n'y apportait un prompt "remède; pour quelques-uns à qui cela pouvait être arrivé, on en "supposait des milliers, et le beau c'est que, malgré toute la dili- "gence possible et les récompenses promises par l'empereur, on n'a "pu attraper sur le fait aucun de ces coupeurs de queue, soit que, "pour mieux jouer leur rôle, les auteurs de cette forfanterie fussent "d'accord avec ceux même qui se plaignaient d'avoir eu la queue "coupée, soit pour quelque raison qu'on n'est jamais venu à bout "de tirer au clair. Le soupçon assez généralement est retombé sur "les bonzes ou faux prêtres des idoles, en sorte qu'il y a eu des "ordres de rechercher toutes les différentes sectes tolérées dans "l'empire, et, comme il arrive ordinairement dans ces sortes de "perquisitions, quelques chrétiens furent surpris et arrêtés dans une "des provinces" . . .

In a decree issued by the Throne in 1812, on the 21st of the sixth month (29 July), we find it stated that, since that storm of consternation, no complaint about tail-cutting had reached the throne, but that shortly before, a Censor, Yung Ch'un [1] by name, had reported that the evil had showed itself in the Metropolis, and required thorough investigation and prosecution. The emperor ordered, however, that this high dignitary should be punished with degradation, his statement having been found to be untrue [2]. Then we hear again of a tail-cutting panic in 1821, through an edict of the 25th day of the eighth month (20th Sept.), as follows: "According "to a report of the Censor Li Teh-lih, an epidemic is spreading in "the province of Shantung, infecting every house. In the depart-

1 榮椿.

2 *Shing hiun*; edicts of Jen Tsung, chap. 11.

"ment of Teh (in the north-west of that province) scoundrels seize "this opportunity to relate, that on the first or the second day of "the seventh month spectres will knock at the house-doors, and "that those who answer will be sure to die. They thus cause the "inhabitants, who transmit this lie to each other, to pass their "nights in dismay and fear. And in the Tung-ch'ang circuit the "rumour is also spread abroad, that heretical villains clandestinely "cut off tails and hair, and cut out the organs from young boys "and young girls; carriers of vegetables and flour, who frequent "the roads there, take advantage of these tales to distribute (for "money?) things like packets of medicine.

"And further there is a swindler living in Tung-kwan, in the "Tsi-ning department, Hwang 'Rh by name, who has hitherto "occupied himself with the painting of charms to cure the sick, "and is called Hwang the Semi-immortal. About the 10th of the "seventh month he conceived the idea of taking advantage of the "prevailing disaster to swindle people out of their money. To this "end he devised the name 'evil spectres of the Buddhist priests "with plaited hair'; and his comrades, a set of worthless scoundrels, "therewith confounded the ears of the people, and then, late in the "evening, rushed into their premises and dwellings, saying they "were such evil spectres, and promiscuously stealing and robbing "in the vilest manner. As afterwards the band divided their spoil "unequally and therefore cruelly thrashed each other, that man "was delivered up by the chief of the ward to the magistrate; "but this head of the department despatched nobody to make "enquiries, and released him.

"That in Shantung, while an epidemic of the season is spreading, "malicious rogues should venture to take advantage thereof and "spread heretical sayings which cause the inhabitants to lead one "another astray and fall into panic and terror, is a violation of the "existing law. But that, moreover, malignant and depraved swindlers "should pretend to be evil spectres, intrude themselves into the "premises and dwellings of others, and promiscuously commit the "vilest robberies — this is abominable in a still higher degree. "Wherefore Khi Shen (the Governor), and the Provincial Chief "Judge Lo Han-chang shall depute officials to track and arrest the "chief culprits among the spreaders of that heretical talk, and they "shall rigorously bring them to justice. And that Governor shall "forthwith give orders to arrest Hwang 'Rh, and bring him before "his tribunal, and examine him with regard to his crew of accom-

"plices; and if he discovers that they really have committed such "villanous acts of theft and robbery, he shall forthwith punish "them according to the law, without the slightest indulgence" [1].

Again we have found an edict, of the 29th of the seventh month (12th Sept.) of the year 1844, informing us of tail-cutting practices in T'ai-yuen, the provincial capital of Shansi, and in its environs, as also in the districts of Yü-ts'zĕ [2] and T'ai-kuh [3], situated to the south of it. The emperor in that edict, of course, orders the officials to make strict, but prudent inquiry for the dangerous culprits, who always and ever vanish like spectres [4]. Probably we may admit, that in those panics, as in all that have prevailed, the culprits were, as a rule, not believed to cut the tails themselves, but to procure spectres to do so. Thus their work was sorcery. In fact, in an edict which the Viceroy of Nanking promulgated in Shanghai in 1876, the following passages occurred, according to an official French translation:

---

[1] 據御史李德立奏東省瘟疫流行、比戶傳染。德州等處有匪徒乘間倡言、七月初一二日有鬼打門、應者必死。遂致居民互相傳惑、終夜倉皇。東昌一帶又傳有邪匪倫剪辮髮、採割幼童幼女、及途遇菜挑麵擔乘間拋散藥包之事。

又有居住濟寧州東關之光棍黃二、平素畫符治病、綽號黃半仙。於七月初十日前後起意乘災詐財。捏造連毛僧妖鬼名目、夥同惡匪炫人聽聞、夤夜入人院宇、自稱妖鬼、肆意奸盜。嗣因匪黨分贓不均、自相毒毆、經地保送官、該州公出無人訊辦、旋卽解釋、等語。

東省時疫傳染、匪徒等竟敢乘間倡布邪言、致居民傳惑驚惶、已干法紀。更有兇惡棍徒假稱妖鬼、夤夜入人院宇、肆行奸盜、其情節尤爲可惡。著琦善督同臬司羅含章派委安員訪拏散布邪言爲首之犯、嚴行懲治。該撫等卽飭拏黃二到案、究明夥黨、審有奸盜實情、卽行安律治罪、無稍寬縱. *Shing hiun*; decrees of Süen Tsung, chap. 80.

[2] 榆次. [3] 太谷.

4 *Shing hiun*; decrees of Süen Tsung, chap. 86.

"Aujourd'hui j'apprends que les bruits qui circulent dans les "endroits soumis à ma jurisdiction relativement aux hommes en "papier, aux tresses coupées, se tourneraient contre les Chrétiens "qu'on accuse, et donneraient naissance à de mauvais projets contre "eux. Si je me reporte au temps passé, je vois que les membres "de la Société du Nénuphar blanc ont employé ces moyens: hommes "en papier, tresses et plumes de poulets coupées, afin d'arriver en "troublant les esprits, à s'emparer des valeurs d'autrui.

"Depuis quelque temps des gens sans aveu font circuler des bruits "sur les tresses et les cheveux coupés. Tout le monde en parle, mais "personne ne l'a vu de ses yeux; personne ne s'est assuré du fait. "D'un autre côté, tous ces bruits ridicules n'ont rien à faire avec "la religion chrétienne. Vous devez donc rester calmes, paisibles, "ne point prêter attention aux histoires sans fondement, ne point "vous effrayer, ne point vous exciter" [1].

As is shown in the foregoing pages, spectres in China manifest their presence very often by sounds or noise. Thus, daily and hourly, new sources of commotion, alarm and panic are developed, every mysterious sound being readily ascribed to spectres in a country where man is so exceedingly credulous. As early as the first century of our era the author of the *Shwoh wen* attested the prevalence of the belief in the crying of ghosts, by inserting in that vocabulary the character 䰟, now pronounced jü, stating it "to represent the "noise made by kwei and mei, and, when pronounced twice, to "mean incessantly" [2]; no doubt then, in those times the howling of ghosts was deemed to be long and protracted. The belief that the souls of the dead often give evidence of their presence by howls and plaintive cries, was, as we saw on page 414, so general about the time of Christ as to make Wang Chʿung it find worth to refute it with ardour.

Chinese books abound with intimations that this belief flourished throughout subsequent ages, and that spectral sounds, generally denoted by the characters 啾啾 tsʿiu-tsʿiu, meaning to hiss, to buzz or to moan, always inspired the living with fright, on account of their entailing famine and death, bloodshed, rebellion, war,

---

1 Cordier, "Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales", II, p. 104. Havret, in his "La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou", II, p. 246, refers to this panic, and Dubose in "Dragon, Image, and Demon", p. 371

2 䰟鬼鬽聲、䰟䰟不止也. Ch. 9, 1

dispersion of the people, and all the horrors and misery connected with it, nay, even the death of the Son of Heaven, or the total dethronement and destruction of the reigning dynasty. To give a few instances: "When Wei Khiüng had been defeated at Siang-"chcu in the second year of the Ta siang period of the Chcu "dynasty (A.D 581), several tens of thousands of his adherents "were buried alive in the Yiu-yü parks, and the howling voices of "all those kwei were then frequently heard at night in that spot. "The Traditions about the Five Elements of the Great Plan[1] say: "'Howling by which the dead manifest their propinquity, is an "evil of nocturnal spectres; spectres and howling in the dark "portend that death shall ensue'. And the *Yih fei-heu*, by the "hand of King Fang[2], has: 'When kwei howl at night, the "dynasty will be destroyed'. Next year the princes of the Chcu "family were killed, and its rule too was overthrown. — In the "Jen sheu period (601—605) howling of kwei was heard over "and over again in the Jen-sheu palace and along the long wall, "whereupon the empress Hien and the emperor died successively "in that palace, unexpectedly. And in the eighth year of the Ta "yeh period (612), Yang Yuen-kan (B. I, p. 1406) revolted against "the Imperial authority in Tung-tu[3], and the minister Fan Tszĕ-"kai buried his clan and his associates alive outside the Ch'ang-"hia gate, to a total of some myriads. In the last year of that "period (616) the kwei were often heard howling in that place "in a plaintive, moaning tone, which foreboded like events as in "the above cases; for afterwards T'ung, the prince of Yueh (son "of the emperor Yang), was put to death (by poison or the cord) "in Loh-yang by Wang Shi-ch'ung"[4].

---

1 *Hung-fan wu hing ch'wen.* A work based on a section of the *Shu king* entitled *Hung fan* or The Great Plan, which we have mentioned on p. 955 of B. I. It seems to have been held in great esteem in the sixth century as an expositor of prognostics. It was then composed of eleven chapters, with a commentary by Liu Hiang, so that it must have existed previous to our era (Books of the Sui Dyn., ch. 32, l. 11). It is often quoted in the Books of the Later Han Dynasty, especially in the 五行志 or Memorials concerning the Five Elements, forming its chapters 23—29. I do not believe that it still exists.

2 A work evidently of the same character as the preceding. Its author was a grandee of the first century B. C., more skilled than any of his contemporaries in occult arts (comp. B. I, p. 1001).

3 The then Imperial Metropolis, the present Ho-nan fu or Loh-yang, in Honan pr.

4 周大象二年尉迴敗於相州、坑其黨與數萬人於遊豫園、其處每聞鬼夜哭聲。洪範五行傳

Of Chang Wen-li, a grandee of the tenth century, we read: "At night the kwei howled about his house in the fields, and "the river changed into blood, so that all the fish died. Horror-"stricken, he caught the small-pox, and died" [1]. The reader has seen on page 56 that Chu Hi referred in his writings to the belief in evil spectres which howl about human dwellings, in these words: "Those kwei and shen that groan and whistle on the house tops and butt against our breasts, are evil beings of darkness". Coming down to still later times, we read in the Memoirs concerning the Lu-ngan Department [2], which forms a part of the province of Shansi: "In the sixteenth year of the Ch'ung "ching period (1643), in winter, kwei howled by the south-east "corner of the chief city of the department, in the unoccupied fields "and the open country. A very plaintive howling it was, produced "by groups of thousands or hundreds, a mixture of short shrieks "and prolonged wailing, slowly receding in the distance and there "dying away. At night it increased in intensity. This lasted for "three months. Next year the insurgents under Ch'en [3] crossed the "Hwang-ho, and the city could not hold out against them" [4].

---

曰、哭者死亡之表近、夜妖也、鬼而夜哭者將有死亡之應。京房易飛候曰、鬼夜哭、國將亡。明年周氏王公皆見殺、周室亦亡。仁壽中仁壽宮及長城之下數聞鬼哭、尋而獻后及帝相次而崩於仁壽宮。大業八年楊玄感作亂於東都、尚書樊子蓋坑其黨與於長夏門外、前後數萬。洎于末年數聞其處鬼哭有呻吟之聲、與前同占、其後王世充害越王侗于洛陽. Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 23, l. 13.

[1] 張文禮家鬼夜哭野、河水變爲血、游魚皆死。文禮懼病疽卒. History of the Five Dynasties, ch. 39, l. 5.

[2] *Lu-ngan fu chi* 潞安府志.

[3] That is to say, Li Tsze-ch'ng, who overthrew the Ming dynasty (B. I, p. 1234). He was Prince of Ch'en, 闖王.

[4] 崇禎十六年冬鬼哭郡城東南隅爲朋田曠野。其聲甚哀、千百爲羣、嚎啕斷續漸遠漸微。陰晦尤甚。如是者三月。越明年闖賊渡河、郡城不守. TS, sect. 庶徵, ch. 162

Even nowadays it must be obvious to every one who maintains intercourse with the Chinese and studiously observes them, that they much dread all mysterious sounds, and are always ready to ascribe these to maleficent ghosts. In the south-east of Fuhkien, people are remarkably quick to say, whenever they hear some strange noise: *kúi ki-ki háo*[1], "the kwei are peeping". It is deemed especially ill-omened and dangerous for a man to hear a spectre call him by his proper name. The soothsayer in such a case is applied to immediately. He opens his *vademecum* — a thumbed little book in print or manuscript, with explications of prognostics reputedly given many centuries ago by sage men, and from it he studies the event in connexion with the cyclical name of the day. Should it be a day denoted by the character tszĕ (comp. Book I, page 103), the event foretokens injury to the children and cattle of the client; on a ch'eu day it announces the sudden, violent death of an elder relation of his; on a yin day it proves that terror and fright are going to affect his children at home. Occurring on a mao day, it prognosticates that a great catastrophe, a conflagration or inundation, is imminent; on a ch'en day, that some woman in the family-way is going to die; and on a szĕ day, that the client's father or mother will depart this life. If the calling was heard by him on a wu day, maledictions or curses will work their effect on him; on a wei day, catastrophes will come down upon the younger members of his family; on a shen day, the event prophesies to him a case of death; on a yiu day, the demise of his father or mother is imminent, and on a suh day, accidental death of somebody; finally, on a hai day, scourges of war are to be expected.

It would be an error to suppose that ghosts always make themselves heard with malign intent or evil consequences. Being occasionally kindly disposed to man, their voices may sometimes announce good, and many a tale stands in Chinese books to prove this. We read *e. g.*: "In the Yuen t'ung period (A. D. 1333 or 1334) one "Sung Kien-nah, a native of Yen-ts'ang, which belongs to Hang-"cheu, sojourned in the Metropolis in search of a chance to make "himself meritorious and famous (in the service of the State), "but he was unsuccessful. His means were totally exhausted; "nevertheless he remained very careful of his conduct, and inca-"pable of any dishonest act. So he left the city by the Ts'i-hwa

[1] 鬼 ○ ○ 吼.

"gate, to find a suitable place to die. He beheld a pond, and "was on the point of throwing himself into it, when he heard the "voice of a kwei in the air. 'Sung Kien-nah', it said, 'the life you "have to live in the world of light is not yet ended; you may not "die'. He looked around, but perceived nothing at all, and silently "retraced his steps. He then picked up on the road a note on "paper, and read: 'Sung Kien-nah, go to the Board of Civil Office, "and employ yourself there in correspondence at the Registrar's "So-and-So, under the Secretary So-and-So'. Next day he repaired "at haphazard to the spot, found the persons mentioned, was pre-"ferred to an official post, and gained promotion" [1].

---

[1] 元統間杭州鹽倉宋監納者嘗客大都求功名、不遂。甚至窮窘然頗慎行止、不敢非爲。遂出齊化門、求一死所。望見水潭、將欲投入、虛空中有鬼作人聲。云、宋某、陽壽未終、不可死也。四顧、一無所有、於是默默而回。中途拾得一紙帖云、宋某、可於吏部某令史下某典吏處習學書寫。翌日物色之、果得其人、遂獲進步. *Choh king luh*; TS, sect. 庶徵, ch. 163.

## CHAPTER II.

### ON SPECTRES OF MOUNTS AND FORESTS.

The Chinese having a world of demons enormously populous, we can hardly expect them to have left it unclassified. Specifications of spectres according to their idiosyncrasies, shapes or manners have, indeed, arisen in course of time, developing spontaneously with superstition generally, without, as it appears, being proposed or sanctioned by leading thinkers, philosophers, or prominent men of intellect. Such worthies probably never troubled their heads to any great extent with such things, but none withheld their approval from a division of spectres into those living in mountains and forests, in the water, and in the ground, which, according to tradition, had been declared by the great Confucius to be correct.

It is related in the *Kwoh yü*, that Ki Hwan-tszĕ, a grandee of the state of Lu, "caused a well to be dug, when they fetched up "something like an earthen pot with a goat in it. He had Chung-ni "(Confucius) interrogated about it, in these words: 'I dug a well, "and got a dog; tell me what this is'. On which the Sage answered: "'According to what I have learned, it must be a goat; for I have "heard that apparitions between trees and rocks are called k h w e i "and w a n g-l i a n g, while those in the water are l u n g or dragons, "and w a n g-s i a n g, and those in the ground are called fen-yang'"[1].

That these lines give us a folk-conception older, perhaps much older, than the time of Confucius, is self-evident. Those three classes of spectres often recur in the books of subsequent times, with information about their characteristics and activity, which we shall now review for each of them separately.

The first class then comprises the k h w e i and the w a n g-l i a n g.

---

[1] 季桓子穿井、獲如土缶、其中有羊焉。使問之仲尼、曰、吾穿井而獲狗、何也。對曰、以丘之所聞羊也、丘聞之木石之怪曰夔蝄蜽、水之怪曰龍罔象、土之怪曰羵羊. Ch. V.

In the first century of our era, the etymologist Hü Shen [1], author of the *Shwoh wen*, wrote in that work, that "a k h w e i (夔) is "a h ü (see p. 466) resembling a dragon with one leg represented by "the component 夂, and that the character represents the beast "with horns, hands, and a human face" [2]. Immediately before, that dictionary gives the same character, but without the horns (𡚴), saying "it means a greedy quadruped, generally stated to be a "she-monkey resembling a man; it contains the component head "頁, with 已, 止 and 夂, representing respectively the arms and "the leg of the beast" [3]. Consequently, unless we reject these dissections as trifling, the k h w e i were thought to be a class of one-legged beasts or dragons with human countenances.

From very ancient times they seem to have inspired the Chinese with awe and fear, for in one of the oldest sections of the *Shu king* the character k h w e i occurs with the meaning of intimidating, awe-inspiring, stern. That Classic states indeed, that a Minister of the great Shun declared on a certain occasion, that his Imperial master, "on "appearing before Ku-seu (his blind father), was k h w e i-k h w e i, "and behaved in a composed and timid manner" [4].

Those one-legged dragons were in ancient China fancied to be amphibious, and to cause wind and rain. In the *Shan-hai king* we read: "In the Eastern Seas is a Land of rolling Waves, extending sea-"ward over seven thousand miles. There certain animals live, shaped "as cows with blue bodies, but hornless, and one-legged. Whenever "they leave or enter the waters, winds are sure to blow, and rains to "fall. Their glare is that of the sun and the moon, their voice is that "of thunder. They are named k h w e i. Hwang the emperor caught "some and made drums of their hides, which, when beaten with "bones of the 'thunder beast', resounded over a distance of five "hundred miles, and thus struck the world under heaven with awe" [5].

---

[1] 許愼.

[2] 夔卽魅也、如龍、一足、从夂、象有角手人面之形. Ch. V, 2.

[3] 貪獸也、一曰母猴、似人、从頁、已止夂其手足.

[4] 見瞽瞍夔夔齊慄. Sect. 大禹謨, Counsels of Yü the Great.

[5] 東海中有流波山、入海七千里。其上有獸、狀如牛、蒼身而無角、一足. 出入水則必風雨。其

In this description we immediately recognize the lung or Dragon, China's god of Water and Rain, of which we have spoken on many pages of this work. The representation of the khwei as one-legged dragons we may readily explain by consulting the *Shu king* and the writings of Han Fei, which date from the third century B. C. The first-named work tells us in the Canon of Shun, that a minister of this emperor, his Director of Music, bore the name of Khwei, and moreover that of Lung or Dragon. And Han Fei relates:

"The ruler Ngai of Lu asked Confucius, saying: 'I have heard "that there has lived in ancient times a certain Khwei with one "leg; may we really believe in his one-leggedness?' Confucius "answered: 'No; he was no monopod; he was a choleric, perverse, "ill-natured man, who raised much discontent; but he escaped "being by reason of this killed by the hand of man on account "of his trustworthiness, for everybody said: this is the only man "of one piece and complete. Thus Khwei was not one-legged, but "he was a man of a piece and complete'. The ruler Ngai now "said: 'Thus the fact is, that he was solid and complete'.

"According to another reading, the ruler Ngai asked Confucius, "saying: 'I have heard that Khwei had one leg; does this deserve "belief?' The answer was: 'Khwei was a man; why should he "have had no more than one leg? he had no other peculiarity "but that he was versed in music. Yao said: 'Khwei is of a "piece and complete!' and he made him his Director of Music, and "therefore princely men have described him as a man of a piece and "complete, but not with one leg"[1]. The legend then owes its origin

---

光如日月、其聲如雷。其名曰夔。黃帝得之、以其皮爲鼓、橛以雷獸之骨、聲聞五百里、以威天下. Ch. 14, 大荒東經.

[1] 魯哀公問於孔子曰、吾聞古者有夔一足、其果信有一足乎。孔子對曰、不也、夔非一足也、夔者忿戾惡心人、多不說喜也、雖然其所以得免於人害者以其信也、人皆曰、獨此一足矣。夔非一足也、一而足也。哀公曰、審而是固足矣。

一曰、哀公問於孔子曰、吾聞夔一足、信乎。曰、夔人也、何故一足、彼其無他異而獨通於聲。堯曰、夔一而足矣、使爲樂正、故君子曰、夔有一足、非一足也. Ch. 12, or § 33.

to the accidental circumstance that — 足 has a double meaning, namely "one leg", and "of a piece and complete".

As the ancients thus represented the khwei as spirits with an animal shape, it becomes clear why in the extract from the *Kwoh yü*, with which we began, their congeners or other selves, the wang-liang, are represented by the characters 蝄蜽, in which we see the radical 虫, "animal". In some editions we find this prefix replaced by 鬼 kwei. Other works, as the *Tso ch'wen*, give the term with no radical at all. In the Historical Records, which also relate the same episode of Confucius' life (ch. 47, l. 5), it has the form 罔閬. Apparently none of those forms are ideographic: they rather seem to be phonetic pictures of certain colloquial words denoting demons or ghosts.

According to all Chinese authorities who have occupied themselves with the wang-liang, they are identical with the fang-liang which, according to a passage in the *Cheu li* translated by us on page 162 of Book I, were expelled from graves at burials by certain masked exorcists. This word fang-liang looks like a dialectic variation or a corruption of wang-liang. The fact that those spectres are mentioned in that book, to which the Chinese ascribe a very early date, attests the antiquity of the belief in their existence.

That later ages did not alter the ideas in China respecting the shape of the wang-liang or khwei, we may learn from the commentary which Wei Chao[1] wrote upon the *Kwoh yü* in the third century of our era. In a note upon the Ki Hwan-tsze anecdote he stated: "Some say that the khwei have one leg. The "people of Yueh (Chehkiang and northern Fuhkien) style them "繅 (sao) of the hills, which character occurs also in the form "獠 (siao). They exist in Fu-yang (about the present Hang-cheu), "have a human countenance and an ape-like body, and can speak. "Some say that the one-legged wang-liang are spirits (tsing) of "the hills, who by imitating human voices bewilder people"[2].

Those terms sao and siao too are, we think, local expressions. Authors of later times use them in their writings preferably to

---

[1] 韋昭.

[2] 或云夔一足。越人謂之山繅、或作獠。富陽有之、人面猴身、能言。或云獨足蝄蜽山精、倣人聲而迷惑人也.

khwei, wang-liang and fang-liang; hence these old words have become obsolete, and are hardly used but in classical writing. Mostly we find the word sao or siao written 臊 or 魈. Another designation for these spectres is shan-tsing 山精, "tsing or vital spirits of hills or mountains". All those terms are applied by Chinese authors indifferently to whatever demons play tricks upon man and disturb his peace, and which we may take to represent for China the broad class of sprites, elves, fairies and hobgoblins, with which mankind generally peoples forests, rocks and hills, increasing their ranks daily with souls of the dead buried abroad. The human mind, imbued from its first development with the belief in a close relation between men and animals, readily identified in China those spirits with beasts. Fancy never ceased from inventing hybrid and grotesque forms for them even when man had changed the nomadic state for a settled life in hamlets and villages; and so the remote, unfrequented mountain-forests still are to the Chinese people a kingdom full of mysterious spectral beings, strange and wonderful.

Though invested with semi-animal shapes, yet the human character of those mountain-elves was never lost from view, and the belief in their descent from man was adhered to tenaciously. That this was so in the beginning of our era, we may infer from the following tradition, recorded by Wang Ch'ung: "The (books of) rites say, "that Chwen-süh" — a mythic emperor of the 26th century B.C. — "had three sons, who died at their birth, and on their departure "became kwei causing contagious diseases. One lives in the water "of the rivers and is the kwei that produces fever. Another dwells "in Joh-shui and is the wang-liang demon. And the third lives "in buildings and rooms, in nooks and corners, and in tumble-"down storehouses, and his speciality lies in frightening babies" [1].

The reader will observe that entire classes of spirits are here identified each with a single human being of antiquity. This phe-

[1] 禮曰顓頊氏有三子、生而死、去爲疫鬼。一居江水、是爲虐鬼。一居若水、是爲魍魎鬼。一居人宮室樞隅漚庫、善驚人小兒. *Lun heng*, ch. 22, 訂鬼篇. This passage occurs also in the *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 16, and in the *Tuh twan* 獨斷, some thirty leaves of notes on dynastic rescripts, rites, customs, and history up to the time of Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕, its author, a famous man of letters and politician who lived from A. D. 133—192.

nomenon points to a firm belief in the divisibility of souls (Book II, ch. 3), a belief which pervades the idolatry of the Chinese in all its parts, and the knowledge of which is indispensable for the understanding of several usages and conceptions attending their Animism.

Books of ensuing centuries are replete with particulars about the siao. Liberal in such data is the *Shen i king.* "Deep in "the mountains of the West human beings exist, more than a "chang[1] in size. They go naked, and catch frogs and crabs. They "are not shy of men, and when they see them halt to pass the "night, they betake themselves to their fire, to roast their frogs "and crabs. They also watch the moment on which the men are "absent, and steal their salt, to eat their frogs and crabs with. They "are called hill-sao, because they cry out this sound themselves. "People have cast bamboo in their fires, which, on exploding therein, "leapt out of it and scared the sao away altogether. When an attack "is made on them, they cause their assailants to catch fever. "Although these beings have a human shape, they take other forms, "and thus belong also to the class of kwei and mei. Nowadays "their abodes occur everywhere in the mountains"[2].

We learn also much about the subject from Koh Hung's pen. "In all mountains", he writes, "the big as well as the small, there "are shen and ling. Big mountains house big shen, small "mountains small ones. If a man should enter the mountains "unarmed with expedients, he is certain to suffer injury or death. "He will, for example, be rendered ill, or he will be wounded or "stabbed, scared and disquieted, or he will see lights and shadows, "or smell strange odours. Sometimes those beings will cause big "trees to snap in the absence of any wind, or rocks to tumble down "with no palpable reason, men being thus hit and killed. Others "bewilder men, and cause them to run about, deprived of reason, "and to tumble down into abysses. Others again send tigers upon "them, or wolves, or venemous snakes. Therefore nobody should

1 Some editions have a chih or foot, one tenth of a chang.

2 西方深山中有人焉、身長丈餘。袒身、捕蝦蟹。性不畏人、見人止宿暮、依其火以炙蝦蟹。伺人不在而盜人鹽、以食蝦蟹。名曰山獠、其音自叫。人嘗以竹著火中、爆烞而出、臊皆驚憚。犯之令人寒熱。此雖人形而變化、然亦鬼魅之類。今所在山中皆有之.

"enter a mountain without valid reasons. You should make such "excursions in the third month of the year, or in the ninth, as it "is in these months that the mountains are accessible. Moreover, it "is necessary to select from these months an auspicious day and "a favourable hour; but should these preliminaries take too "much of your time, or should it be impossible to delay your "departure, so that you must depart in the current month, mere "selection of a lucky day and hour may suffice. But whoever enters "a mountain should fast beforehand and purify himself, and abstain "from passing over or by any sordid or dirty substances for seven "days . . . . . .
". . . . . The spirits (tsing) that dwell in the hills have the "shape of a baby, with one single leg. When they run, they turn "their face backward. They take pleasure in doing harm. Should a "traveller in the mountains hear in the dark some one speak loudly "with a human voice, then he has to do with one of the name "of khi; if he is acquainted with this name and shouts it out, it "dares not do him any harm. Let him call out at the same time "the word jeh-juh, which is also a name of those beings. Further- "more there exist certain mountain-tsing like drums, of a carnation "colour and with one leg, which are known by the name of hwui. "Others, named kin-lei, have human forms, are nine feet long, "and wear fur coats and hats of bamboo. Others are the so-called "fei-fei, resembling five-coloured dragons with red horns. No such "being has the courage to do any outrage when, as soon as it is seen, "its name is shouted at it[1] . . . . . .

---

[1] 山無大小皆有神靈。山大則神大、山小則神小也。入山而無術必有患害。或被疾病及傷刺、及驚怖不安、或見光影、或聞異香。或令大木不風而自摧折、岩無故而自墮落、打擊煞人。或令人迷惑、狂走墮落坑谷。或令人遭虎狼毒虫犯人。不可輕入山也。當以三月九月、此是山開月。又當擇其月中吉日佳時、若事久不得徐徐、須此月者、但可選日時耳。凡人入山皆當先齋潔、七日不經汚穢 . . . . . 。山中山精之形如小兒而獨足。走向後。喜來犯人。人入山、若夜聞人音聲大語、其名曰蛟、

"..... And should you see on a hill a spectre come, crying "incessantly to you for food, then cast some white grass at it, and "it will immediately die. Frequently also, the spectres in the "mountains so much bewilder a man that he goes astray; but "they die when stalks of water reed are thrown at them" [1].

In this extract we perceive again some names the written forms of which bear no positive marks of being ideographic. It seems then reasonable to take them for representations of local or dialectic words. For some other denominations of those demons we are indebted to Twan Ch'ing-shih. In his *Noh-kao ki* [2], a small treatise incorporated with the *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, we read, in the second part:

"The hill-siao are also called hill-sao. The *Shen i king* writes "their name as 猓. The Description of the Yung-kia principality "calls them hill-mei. Still other names are: hill-horses, dragons or "gavials, choh-juh, jeh-juh, hwui, and flying dragons. They are "blue as doves. They are also named chi-wu. Their nests are equal "in size to a bowl of five pecks. They adorn themselves with red and "white paint of clay. They always regard each other in the attitude "of archers ready for defence. They employ tigers to kill men, and "they set fire to cottages and houses. The common people call "them hill-siao" [3].

---

知而呼之則不敢犯人也。一名熟肉、亦可兼呼之。又有山精如鼓、赤色亦一足、其名曰暉。又或如人、長九尺、衣裘戴笠、名曰金累。或如龍而五色赤角、名曰飛飛。見之皆以名呼之卽不敢爲害也。。。

From the multitude of their names we may infer the probability that the belief in these spectres prevails generally in China. The authors who have deemed it worth while to write on them, for the most part content themselves with transcribing the older statements, of which the reader now has a synopsis before him; fresh information is supplied by only a few. The *Hu wei*, the interesting tiger-lore book of the sixteenth century, known to our readers, relates:

"The hill-siao occur everywhere south of the Sierra (*i. e.* in "Kwangtung). They have one leg with reversed heel, so that they "possess three limbs. Their females are fond of painting themselves "with red cosmetics and rice-flour. They make their nests in big "hollow trees, in which they have wooden wind-screens and cur-"tains. They have a great store and variety of food. When a "southerner is on travel in the mountains, he mostly carries with "him some yellow cosmetics, as also lead paint, rice-powder, some "coins, etc. When then he falls in with a male, he calls him "mountain-chief, and a female he styles mountain-lady; she is "sure to ask for some cosmetics and rice-powder, and if he gives "these things, he may ensure her protection[1].

"In the T'ien pao period of the T'ang dynasty (742—755) "there was among the foreigners from the north a man travelling "through the hills south of the Sierra. Fearing an encounter with "tigers, he climbed a tree at evening to pass the night in it, but "found therein a female hill-siao. Our man was accustomed to "carry some slight presents with him. He descended from the tree, "made some bows to that being, and called her mountain-lady; "and on her asking him from the tree what things he had with "him, he gave her some cosmetics and powder. Delighted with "these, she said: 'Quietly lay yourself down to rest, and have no

---

名暉、一名飛龍。如鳩青色。亦曰治烏。巢大如五斗器、飾以土堊赤白。相見狀如射侯犯者。能役虎害人、燒人廬舍。俗言山魈.

[1] 山魈者嶺南所在有之。獨足反踵、手足三肢。其牝好傅脂粉。於大樹空中作窠、有木屏風帳幔。食物甚備。南人山行者多持黃脂鉛粉及錢等以自隨。遇雄者謂之山丈、遇雌者謂之山姑、必求脂粉、與者能相護。

"fear'; so the traveller slept under the tree. In the night two "tigers came thither, but the hill-siao quitted the tree and pat- "ting the monsters on their head, said: 'Stripes, here is a guest "of mine, go away quickly!' and the monsters withdrew. Next "morning, when he took leave of her, she overwhelmed him with "warm thanks"[1].

Another work relates: "In the Khai yuen period (713—741), "the scholar Wei Chi-wei was invested with the post of prefect of "the Siao-shan district in Yueh (Chehkiang pr.). In that region "many hill-siao lived, playing their tricks in a hundred ways, and "nobody had the courage to undertake anything against them; "even the magistrates had to suffer from their attacks, though "they worshipped them now and then as gods. But Chi-wei came, "and examined where they had their cave-dwellings; then he pre- "pared a large store of fire-wood, watched for the moment when "they were all assembled, piled up the fuel round about, and set "fire to it. Meanwhile the crowd stood ready with spears and "swords, so that nearly all the siao were burned or killed. Thus "for several months every trace of them was effaced from that district.

"One day, in the early morning, a stranger appeared at the gate "of the city of the district. His cart and horses were covered "with dust, and his servants and drivers looked weary and exhausted. "Straightway he made up to the prefecture, begged to see the "magistrate, and stated he came from Siao-tsao, in the Lan hills. "Chi-wei, without any suspicion, immediately invited him to walk "in. He sat down, chatted and gossipped with them, joked and "jested, and every remark he made was so peerless that Chi-wei "bestowed on him the greatest attentions. He even offered him his "mansion to stay in. The stranger then spoke: 'The road took me "through a gorge, where I caught a young monkey, the wit and "skill of which are most amusing; I beg respectfully to offer it to

---

[1] 唐天寶中北客有嶺南山行者。屬夜懼虎、欲上樹宿、忽遇雌山魈。其人素有輕裘。因下樹、再拜呼山姑、樹中遙問有何貨物、人以脂粉與之。甚喜、謂人曰、安臥、無慮也、人宿樹下。夜中有二虎欲至其所。山魈下樹、以手撫虎頭曰、斑子、我客在、宜速去也、二虎遂去。明日辭別、謝客甚謹. TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 65.

"you'. Producing a little box from his bosom, he opened it, and "it contained a monkey, not bigger than a chestnut. To and fro "it hopped, whirled round and round, and knew and understood "the ways of man: and Chi-wei, struck with admiration, took it in- "doors, to boast in his house of this curious thing. But now the "monkey jumped upwards, and suddenly changed into a tiger. "They could not bolt the door in time; arms were not at hand, "and as Chi-wei closed the gate, everybody was devoured, not one "remaining alive" [1].

On reading such stories, we feel tempted to believe that the Chinese place in their great class of hill-spirits certain quadrumana, besides actual human beings, mountaineers alien to Chinese culture, perhaps a dying race of aborigines, who, occasionally making raids upon their more refined neighbours, were chastised and victimized by merciless mandarins. No doubt the Chinese rank among them human monsters and mongrels which strike the imagination by their oddity, such beings as parade on many pages of the *Shan-hai king* as inhabitants of the regions real or imaginary, which that work purports to describe. Still another demon-tribe falls under this great category, viz. the so-called ch'i-mei 魑魅, or ch'i and mei.

These beings are mentioned already in the *Tso ch'wen*. In the

---

[1] 開元中士人韋知微者選授越州蕭山縣令。縣多山魈、變幻百端、無敢犯者、而前後官吏事之如神、然終遭其害。知微既至、則究其窟宅、廣備薪採、伺候集聚、因環薪、縱火。衆持兵刃、焚煞殆盡。而邑中累月蹤跡頓絶。

忽一日晨朝有客詣縣門。車馬風塵、僕馭憔悴。投刺請謁、曰蘭陵蕭愷。知微初不疑慮、卽延入。上座談論笑謔、敏辯無雙、知微甚加顧重。因授館休焉。客乃謂知微曰、僕途經峽中收得猴雛、智能可玩、敬以奉呪。乃出懷中小盒開之、而有獼猴、大纔如栗。跳躑宛轉、識解人情、知微奇之、因攜入、誇異于宅內。獼猴于是騰躍踊、駭化爲虎焉。扃閉不及、兵仗靡加、知微闔門、皆爲啗噬、孑遺無有矣. *Tsih i ki.*

time of the Hia dynasty, this book tells us, certain objects and pictures were employed "to acquaint the people with the malicious "tricks of shen, and so, whenever a man entered watery val-"leys or elevated forests, he did not encounter any such adverse "ch'i-mei and wang-liang"[1]. In another part of the same work we are informed that Shun, on becoming Yao's Minister, banished some wicked individuals to four distant regions, "there to resist the ch'i-mei"[2]. From these passages later authors could hardly draw any better inference but that the ch'i-mei were spirits of the wilderness, akin to the wang-liang, or even perfectly identical with these; and, in fact, we see them in their writings adhere to this conception very faithfully.

It is not impossible, of course, nor even improbable, that the term ch'i-mei originally, in some dialect or other, denoted spectres in general. It deserves notice that in a section of the *Tso ch'wen*, where that expulsion of those bad men under Shun's ministry is related a second time[3], the term is written 螭魅, the first character in which, sometimes pronounced li, denotes, as we have seen on page 1141 *seq.* of Book I, some dragon-like or saurian animal. Possibly it is this fact which occasioned Wang Ch'ung to write: "Those "who give their opinion on the ch'i, state that they are dragon-like "beings; therefore, as the word mei is copulated to (the name of) "a dragon, the mei must be a congener of this animal"[4]. This hypothesis is readily subscribed to by later authors, but data for verifying its correctness are lacking.

In the *Cheu li* we find the character mei in the shape 魑. "At the summer solstice", this work declares, "the clan-officials "of the several families make the spirits of the earth and the mei "of living beings come up, thus averting from the realm misfortune "and dearth"[5]. Ching Khang-ch'ing assures us in his commentary

---

[1] 使民知神姦、故民入川澤山林不逢不若魑魅罔兩. The third year of Suen's reign.

[2] 以禦魑魅. The eighteenth year of Wen's reign.

[3] The ninth year of Chao's reign.

[4] 說螭者謂之龍物也、而魅與龍相連、魅則龍之類矣. *Lun heng*, ch. 22, 訂鬼篇.

[5] 家宗人以夏日至致地示物魅、以禳國之凶荒. Ch. 27, f. 37.

upon this passage, that "we have to regard those mei as denoting the shen of all living beings"[1], and Hü Shen confirms this. "The mei are the vital spirits (tsing) of old living beings", he wrote, "and the character is composed of kwei and 彡, which represent the hairs of the kwei"[2]. Thus again we see the mountain-ghosts identified with animals and men, for we can hardly take those "living beings" in any other sense.

The mysterious hill-tribes, reminiscences of which survive in those and similar traditions, were, of course, distinguished by a variety of names. Some were cannibals. Says the *'Rh ya*: "The fei-fei "(or, in some southern dialects, hwui-hwui) resemble men. They "wear their hair disorderly, are good runners, and anthropophagous"[3]. We have much earlier mention of such beings in the *Shan-hai king*: "In the Yuh-fah hills animals live, dog-shaped, with human coun-"tenances. They throw with dexterity. Whenever they see men, "they laugh. They are named hill-hwui. They move as swiftly as "the wind, and when they appear, storms arise in the world"[4]. The same work makes similar statements about these beings in its notes on other unidentified southern countries[5]. Kwoh Poh, commenting upon the *'Rh ya*, wrote that the fei-fei "have long lips, "a black hairy body, and their heels in front, and that they "live also in the mountains, from Kiao-chi (Tongking) and Kwang-"tung and Kwangsi, unto Nan-khang (in northern Kiangsi). The "tallest are more than one chang. The people call them hill-"tu"[6]. Kwoh Poh may have borrowed this information from the Books from the grave in Kih, in which we read: "The fei-fei "of Cheu-mi have a human body, and walk on their toes. They "laugh spontaneously. When they laugh, they raise their lips

---

1 百物之神曰魁. Khienlung edition of the *Cheu li*, *loc. cit.*

2 魁老物精也、从鬼彡、彡鬼毛. *Shwoh wen*, ch. 9, I.

3 狒狒如人。被髮、迅走、食人. Sect. 18, 釋獸.

4 獄法之山有獸焉、其狀如犬而人面。善投。見人則笑。其名山狸。其行如風、見則天下大風. Ch. 3, 北山經.

5 In ch. 10, 海內南經, and ch. 18, 海內經.

6 長脣、黑身、有毛、反踵、交廣及南康郡山中亦有此物。大者長丈許。俗呼之曰山都. *Loc. cit.*

"over their eyes. They are cannibals. In the north they are styled "t'u-l e u (prattlers?)" [1].

Contemporaneous and later authors, harping on those ancient traditions, framed some new theories on this amalgam of apes, men, and spectres. One of them wrote in the sixth century: "In "Nan-khang s h e n live, known by the name of hill-t u. They are "shaped like men, their size is upward of two c h a n g, their "colour is black, their eyes are red, and they have yellow hair. "In trees standing far away in the mountains they make their "nests, which are shaped like eggs, over three feet in height, well "lighted and adorned on the inside, hollow, and of light material. "They make therein mattresses of bird's feathers; they are united "by pairs, that for the male above, and that for the female "under it. They can transform themselves and render themselves "invisible, so that their shapes are seldom seen. They are beings "of the same sort as the tree-dwellers and the hill-s i a o" [2]. And Twan Ch'ing-shih stated: "He who drinks the blood of a "f e i-f e i can become a ghost-seer. They are strong enough to carry "weights of a thousand k i n on their back. When they laugh, "they raise their lip over their forehead. They are shaped as m i- "monkeys, and can express themselves as a man in a bird-like voice. "They foreknow births and deaths. Their blood is good for dyeing "textiles, and their hair may be used for tresses. Of old it was "related that they have their heels in front, and huntsmen say "they have no knees" [3]. In the twelfth century, the author of the *'Rh-ya yih*, resuming the old traditions, wrote: "When the monster "catches a man, the first thing it does is to laugh for joy and to

---

[1] 州靡費費其形人身、跂踵。自笑。笑則上唇翁其目。食人。北方謂之吐噱. *Kih chung Chou shu*, ch. 7, §59.

[2] 南康有神、曰山都。形如人、長二丈餘、黑色、赤目、黃髮。深山樹中作窠、狀如鳥卵、高三尺餘、內甚光采、體質輕虛。以鳥毛爲褥、二枚相連、上雄、下雌。能變化隱形、罕視其狀。若木客山獠之類也. *Shuh i ki*: T S, sect 神異, ch. 315.

[3] 狒狒、飲其血可以見鬼。力負千斤。笑輒上吻掩額。狀如獼猴、作人言如鳥聲。能知生死。血可染緋、髮可爲髢。舊說反踵、猶者言無膝. *Yu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 16.

"fold its upper lip over its forehead, and after a time it devours "him. For this reason men make bamboo tubes and put them "around their fore-arms; and as soon as they are seized, they "draw their hands out of the tubes, and pierce its lip on its "forehead, thus catching it; or, according to some, they nail the lip "upon its forehead, let it run away till it is dead, and then catch "it. The Hwai-nan philosopher says: 'The mountains produce h i a o- "y a n g (owls and goats?), the waters w a n g-s i a n g, the trees p i h- "f a n g, and wells f e n-y a n g'" [1].

The learned Li Shi-chen, compiler of the *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, devoted in this work (ch. 51, II) the following page to the hill-s i a o:

"Tung Fang-shoh's *Shen i king* [2] states that there are in the "deep mountains of the western regions men over one c h a n g "in size, going naked, and catching frogs and crabs, which they roast "over the fires of men to eat. They are called hill-s i a o, a name "by which they style themselves. If a man attacks them, he is "smitten with fever. As they are k w e i and m e i, they are com- "mon also elsewhere. They only fear the crackling noise of bamboo "exploding in the fire. — Liu I-khing says in his *Yiu ming luh*: "In the mountains of the district of Tung-ch'ang (Shantung pr.) "there live in the crags a class of beings resembling men of "four or five feet, who go naked and wear their hair dishevelled, "letting it grow to a length of five or six inches. They utter "screaming and whistling cries, and while keeping themselves un- "seen, fling stones from time to time out of the gorges. The frogs "and crabs they catch they roast on fire before eating them. — "The Description of Yung-kia (in Chehkiang) has: In the district of "Ngan-kwoh hill-k w e i occur, shaped like men, single-legged beings, "hardly taller than one foot. They make a sport of stealing away "the salt of woodcutters, and eat their roasted rock-crabs with it.

---

[1] 其初得人、喜而笑、則上脣覆其額、移時而後食之。人因爲筒、貫於臂上、待其見執、卽抽手從竹筒中出、鑿其脣於額、而擒之、或曰以釘釘著額、任其奔馳、候其死而取之。淮南子曰、山出梟羊、水出罔象、木生畢方、井生墳羊. Art. 狒狒; T S, sect. 禽虫, ch. 88. That passage quoted from Liu Ngan, the Hwai-nan sage, occurs in his *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. 13.

2 Supra, page 495.

"People dare not attack them, for they would not only smite them "with disease, but also set fire to their houses. — In the *Yuen* "*chung ki* it is stated, that the spirits of the mountains look like "one-legged men of three or four feet, who feed on land-crabs, "come out at night, and hide themselves in the daytime; toads "that are a thousand years old can devour them. — The philoso- "pher Pao P'oh (Koh Hung) says: The mountain-spirits look like "young babes with one foot which has the heel in front, and like "to injure men at night. They are named p a h; when their name "is shouted out they lose their power to attack man. — According "to the *Poh tseh t'u* [1], the spirits of the hills are shaped like a "drum, have a red colour, and one leg; their name is k h w e i, "and also h w u i-w e n; by hooting at them they can be made to "catch tigers and leopards. — In the *Hai luh sui shi* [2] it is stated "that south of the Sierra one-legged beings live, with a heel in "front, three toes on their foot, and three fingers on each hand. "Their males are called mountain-chiefs, the females mountain-ladies. "They knock at the house-doors at night to ask for something.

---

1 白澤圖 or "Plan of the White Water (beast)". This animal is stated by the *Shan-hai king* to live on the Eastern Prospect Mount 東望山, to be able to speak, and to appear when princes spread virtues abroad (see *Pei wen yun fu*, ch. 100, I, l. 105). In the fifth century there existed a tradition, asserting "that "the emperor Hwang making a tour of inspection, reached the eastern shore, where "the animal of that Water came out of it. It could speak, and thoroughly knew "everything about the souls of the myriads of beings, so that it taught him how "to avert periodical evils from his people. When the intellect of a wise ruler is "profound and his virtue is far-reaching, the beast appears" 黃帝時巡狩至於東濱、澤獸出。能言、達知萬物之精、以戒於民爲時除害。賢君明德幽遠則來; Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 29, l. 40. According to the *Yun kih ts'ih ts'ien*, "the emperor had those "instructions written down in a plan or map, and in this form made known to the "world" 帝令以圖寫之以示天下; T S, sect. 禽虫, ch. 58; and *Pei wen yun fu*, ch. 7, II, l. 48. This curious production existed under the Sui dynasty, being mentioned in the Catalogue in the Books of that house (ch. 34, l. 28), with the remark that it consisted only of one chapter. Yu Pao quotes it sometimes in the *Shen shen ki*, and Twan Ch'ing-shih in the *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*; and so does Li Shi-chen in his *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*. I do not know whether it still exists as a separate work.

2 海錄碎事, "Desultory Matters from Writings about the Oceans", a kind of cyclopedia in twenty-two chapters, by Yeh T'ing-kwei 葉廷珪, also named Sze-chung 嗣忠, a scholar and state-servant who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century.

"According to the *Shen i king* there exist in the south certain "pah, also styled mothers of drought. They are two or three "feet in size, have nothing on, and have their eye in the top of "their head. They move as quick as the wind, and when they "appear, great drought prevails. If he who falls in with one catches "it and throws it into a dung-pit, the drought is averted. — The "*Wen-tszĕ chi kwei*[1] says: The pah of drought are mountain-"spectres. Wherever they abide, no rain falls. If female pah enter "human dwellings, they can steal, but merely take their booty out "of doors; and if the males enter, they can steal, but carry it home[2].

"Those statements brought Li Shi-chen to the conclusion that,

---

[1] 文字指歸, "Guide for the knowledge of the simple and compound Characters", an etymological work by Ts'ao Hien 曹憲, a renowned scholar under the Sui dynasty and that of T'ang, who reached the age of one hundred and five.

[2] 東方朔神異經云、西方深山有人、長丈餘、袒身、捕蝦蠏、就人火炙食之。名曰山獠、其名自呼。人犯之則發寒熱。蓋鬼魅耳所在亦有之。惟畏爆竹煽煏聲. 劉義慶幽明錄云、東昌縣山巖間有物如人、長四五尺、裸身、被髮、髮長五六寸。能作呼嘯聲、不見其形每從澗中發石。取蝦蟹就火炙食. 永嘉記云、安國縣有山鬼、形如人而一脚、僅長一尺許。好盜伐木人鹽、炙石蟹食。人不敢犯之、能令人病及焚居也. 玄中記云、山精如人、一足、長三四尺、食山蟹、夜出、晝伏、千歲蟾蜍能食之. 抱朴子云、山精形如小兒、獨足向後、夜喜犯人。其名曰魃、呼其名則不能犯人. 白澤圖云、山之精狀如鼓、色赤、一足、名曰夔、亦曰彙文、呼之可使取虎豹.

海錄碎事云、嶺南有物、一足、反踵、手足皆三指。雄曰山丈、雌曰山姑。能夜叩人門求物也.

神異經云、南方有魃、一名旱母。長二三尺、裸形、目在頂上。行走如風、見則大旱。遇者得之、投溷中、則旱除. 文字指歸云、旱魃山鬼也。所居之處天不雨。女魃入人家、能竊物以出、男魃入人家、能竊物以歸。

"though they disagree a little, they show that those beings in "general are apparitions, namely those which in his time people "called spectres with one leg. They had hitherto lived everywhere. "Rendering themselves invisible, they entered human dwellings to "commit sexual excesses and disturb peace; they visited people "with disease, committed arson and thefts, and were a great "nuisance in houses. Taoist contrivances for expelling them proved "futile, and medical treatment remained without effect on their "victims. They were called the five intellectual beings and the seven "lords, and their spirits were invoked, and sacrificed to" [1].

It is in the main in this capacity of domestic nuisances that the siao now live in the imagination of the people of southern Fuhkien. There the homes of rustic simplicity are not seldom thrown into commotion by a mysterious disappearance of food, utensils and articles of furniture, presumably stolen by such spectres, and many matrons positively affirm they are known to ladle the rice out of the basket in which it is being steamed, or out of the pot on the fire, leaving nothing therein but clean water. They invade human dwellings to compel the inmates to sing for them, being bent on vocal music. They haunt under vague and hazy forms, vanish as soon as seen, and thus bring many a house into bad repute, so that no one dares hire it. Whether in such stormy family crises dishonest servants are loudest of all in cursing the siao, we have often asked, but we were never told.

Those devils have thus disturbed the people's rest and happiness for ages. "To the hill-siao class", we read in a work over eight hundred years old, "the tree-dwellers belong. Fifteen miles north-"west of the city of the Kan district (in south-western Kiangsi) "there was an old dyke, named the Yü-kung dyke, bearing a big "Rottlera tree, about twenty spans in circumference. A hole in "that old tree contained the nest of a hill-tu. In the first year "of the Yuen kia period of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 424) two "brothers in that district, Tao-hiun and Tao-ling by name, felled that "tree and took the nest home. But the hill-tu appeared. Abusing

[1] 時珍謹按諸說、雖少有參差、大抵俱是怪類、今俗所謂獨脚鬼者是也。邇來處處有之。能隱形入人家姪亂、致人成疾、放火竊物、大爲家害。法術不能驅、醫藥不能治。呼爲五通七郎、請神而祀之.

"them soundly, it cried: 'For your iniquity I will have my revenge,
"and burn your house to-day!' And during the second night-
"watch the roofs of their house within and without all at once
"caught fire, and the whole dwelling was totally destroyed" [1].

"Teng Teh-ming's Description of Nan-khang (a part of Kiangsi)
"states: It is neither by their head or countenance, nor by their
"speech, that the tree-dwellers are fully distinguished from man,
"but their hands and feet have nails as sharp as hooks. They dwell
"beyond the highest peaks and the furthest ridges, where they
"cleave trees into planks, which they store by binding them up
"in the trees. Formerly, men going to them in order to obtain
"planks, put down at these trees articles corresponding with their
"value; the other party took those articles away and, if they
"liked them, delivered the planks without any theft or unfair
"action; but they never had face to face intercourse, or kept
"any markets with them. Their dead are all coffined. Some men
"have gone to see their burials; they placed spirits, fish and raw
"flesh into the grave, but did not expose themselves to view
"when preparing food or drink for themselves [2]. They are in
"the habit of hiding their coffins often in trees growing on high
"cliffs, and sometimes in caverns in the rocks. In Nan-khang,
"soldiers of the navy of the third division tell that they have
"gone to see their burials with their own eyes. The songs accom-
"panying their danses differ from those of men, and sound like
"f u n g-l i n-f a n (?), and the melody is much like that of our songs
"accompanied by wind instruments. In the I h i period (405—419),
"when Sü Tao-fuh was moving to the south and sent out some
"of his men to cut planks for gunwales for his ships, the tree-
"dwellers presented these to him; but he did not see them" [3].

---

[1] 木客山獠之類也。贛縣西北十五里有古塘、名余公塘、上有大梓樹、可二十圍。老樹空中有山都窠。宋元嘉元年縣治民有道訓道靈兄弟二人伐倒此樹、取窠還家。山都見形。罵二人曰、今當焚汝宇以報汝之無道。至二更中內外屋上一時起火、合宅蕩盡矣. K K, ch. 324.

2 Thus, evidently, they simulated a fasting for their dead.

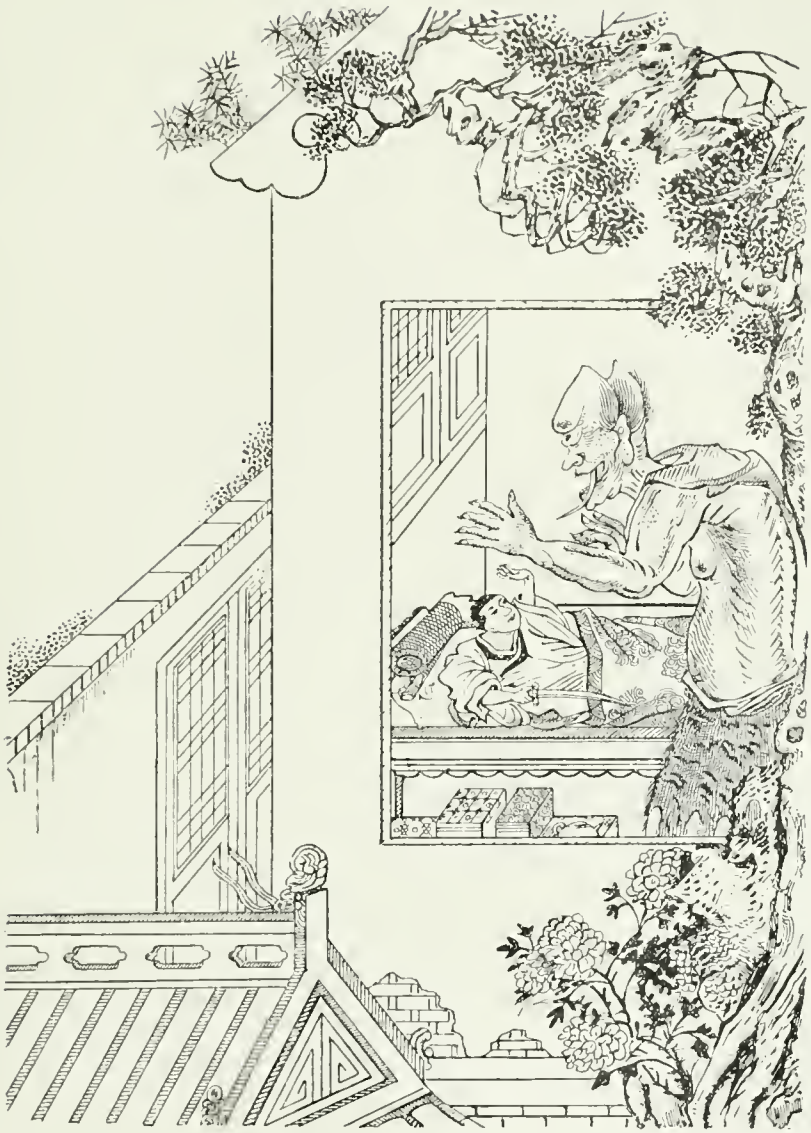
[3] 鄧德明南康記曰、木客頭面語聲亦不全異人、但手脚爪如鉤利。高岩絕嶺然後居之、能斫

Ancient tradition having, as we have seen, described the s i a o as giants of a c h a n g of ten ch'ih or feet, we see them appear also in modern literature as house-disturbers of tremendous stature. "Sun T'ai-poh", P'u Sung-ling recounts, "has told me the "following story of his great-grandfather when he was studying for "the (religious) profession in the monastery of the Willow Canal, "on the southern mountains. Once after going to his village on "account of the wheat harvest, he returned to the monastery after "an absence of ten days, and on opening his cell, found the table "dusty and the window covered with cobwebs. He told his servant "to sweep the apartment clean, and it was evening ere he could "sit down refreshed and comfortable. He then dusted his couch "and settled his sleeping gear, bolted his door, and went to bed. "The moon shone brightly through the window.

"Hour after hour passed away, and the music of the count- "less flutes was hushed, when suddenly a blast of wind began "to bellow, and the gate on the hill-side creaked. 'The monks "must have bolted it badly', my great-grandfather said to himself; "but no sooner had this thought flashed through his brain than "the bellowing wind drew nigh to the dwellings, and the door of "his cell flew open. Not knowing in the least what to think of "it, he had not yet arranged his ideas when the noise resounded in "his cell, and the tramp of boots approaching the inner gate "reached his ears. Now he began to feel uneasy, for the inner gate "flew open, and turning his eyes, he beheld a large demon pushing "through the doorway in stooping attitude. With a bound it stood "before his bed. It reached almost to the ridge of the roof; its "face had the colour of an old pumpkin-skin, and with eyes flashing

---

榜、索著樹上聚之。昔有人欲就其買榜、先置物樹下隨值多少、取之、若合其意便將榜與人。不取亦不橫犯也、但終不與人面對、與交作市井。死皆加殯殮之。曾有人往看其葬、以酒及魚生肉遺賓、自作飲食終不令人見其形也。葬棺法每在高岸樹杪、或藏石窠之中。南康三營伐船兵說往親視葬所。聲唱之節雖異于人、聽如風林汎、響聲類歌吹之和。義熙中徐道覆南出遣人伐榜以裝舟艦、木客乃獻其榜、而不得見. *Op. et loc. cit.*



An Attack of a Mountain-spectre.

"With a bound it stood before his bed".

"fire it strode round in the room, glancing from side to side. Its gaping "large mouth, rather a basin than a mouth, showed teeth wide apart, "more than three ts'un long; its tongue moved (outside its mouth); "guttural chattering cries echoed along the four walls.

"My great-grandsire's terror was extreme. 'With a few feet for "room', he said to himself, 'it is impossible to elude that phantom; "the best course to pursue will be to accept the situation and fight "it with the edged weapon'. Gently he drew forth his sword from "underneath his pillow, hastily unsheathed it, and aimed a blow "at the spectre; he hit its belly, which gave a sound like an earthen "pot. The spectre flew into a passion. It stretched out its huge claws "to grasp my great-grandfather, but as he recoiled a little, it got "hold merely of the lapel of his gown. With the folds in its "claw it ran away furiously, so that my great-grandfather was "dragged forward, and fell to the ground, yelling and screaming. "The inmates of the building ran together with lights, and "finding the door closed, pushed open the window and entered. "Their consternation on beholding the scene was great. They placed "him on his bed, and on his telling them what had happened, "they conjointly examined the spot, and found the lapel squeezed "into the chink of the inner gate. They opened this, and inspecting "it by the light of their torches, found it covered with marks of "claws, running over it like the texture of a sieve, and perforated "in every spot which the five fingers had touched [1].

---

[1] 孫太白嘗言其曾祖肄業於南山柳溝寺。麥秋旋里、經旬始返、啟齋門則案上塵生、窗間絲滿。命僕糞除、至晚始覺清爽可坐。乃拂榻陳臥具、扃扉就枕。月色已滿窗矣。

幄轉移時、萬籟俱寂、忽聞風聲隆隆、山門豁然作響。竊謂寺僧失扃、注念間風聲漸近居廬、俄而房門闢矣。大疑之、思未定、聲已入室、又有靴聲鏗鏗然漸傍寢門。心始怖、俄而寢門闢矣、急視之、一大鬼鞠躬塞入。突立榻前。殆與梁齊、面似老瓜皮色、目光睒閃、遶屋四顧。張巨口如盆、齒疎疎長三寸許、舌動、喉鳴呵喇之聲響連四壁。

公懼極。又念咫尺之地勢無所逃、不如因而

"By that time it was daylight, and my great-grandfather, not "daring to stay any longer in that monastery, shouldered his wallet "and went home. Afterwards he interrogated the monks, who assured "him that nothing particular had happened since" [1].

This chapter has introduced us to a kind of spectres called pah, explicitly assimilated by early authors with the great class of hill-demons (see pp. 510 and 511), and charged with visiting mankind with drought. We have now for some moments to give our attention to these beings.

Droughts have always harrassed China as a chronic plague. Books from the oldest times mention their prevalence, and special ceremonies to avert them and bring down the rains have always formed an integral part of the religious duties of princes, governors and mandarins. In Book I (pp. 918 *sqq.*) we were able to demonstrate from original texts, that it always was a conviction in China, traceable in its literature up to the seventh century before our era, that such calamities were caused by the souls of unburied dead, this circumstance rendering it of the utmost necessity to the people and its rulers to give a decent interment to neglected bones and skeletons. This fact becomes of increased interest when we collate it with what the Chinese have to tell us of their pah.

Like by far the largest number of terms denoting demons and spectres, pah is a word the origin and etymology of which lie hidden in the darkness of the past. An analysis of the character with which it is written (魃), gives the radical kwei with an element that is apparently phonetic and teaches us nothing. As early as in the *Shi king* that character occurs, preceded by the word 旱, drought, and ever since in the books of all periods we find this binomium used as a standard name for these spectres. The place in question

---

刺之。乃陰抽枕下佩刀、遽拔而砍之、中腹作石缶聲。鬼大怒。伸巨爪攫公、公少縮、鬼攫得衾。捽之忿忿而去、公隨衾墮伏地號呼。家人持火奔集、則門閉如故、排窗入。見狀大駭。扶曳登牀、始言其故、共驗之、則衾夾於寢門之隙。啟扉檢照、見有爪痕如箕、五指著處皆穿。

[1] 既明不敢復留、負笈而歸。後問僧人、無復他異. *Liao-chai chi* 1, ch. 13.

in the *Shi king* is a jeremiad against a prevailing drought, conventionally admitted to have been uttered by the ruler Süen [1], who occupied the throne of Cheu in the ninth and the eighth centuries before Christ. "Excessive", he lamented, "is this drought; dried "up are the mountain-rills; the devils of drought wreak their atro- "cities, like flames, like scorching fire" [2]. Thus, if the Chinese are right in ascribing that origin to this ode, the pah haunted their ancestors already in the earliest times which their history records.

The pah are mentioned also in the *Shan-hai king*, in a curious tradition which seems to be the base of later legends on those beings. It runs as follows:

"In the vast desert human beings live, dressed in blue; they "are named female pah of the emperor Hwang. When Ch'i-yiu "(Book I, p. 1403) formed an army to fight Hwang, this sovereign "ordered Ying-lung to attack it in the wilds of Ki-cheu. This Ying- "lung withheld the waters, whereupon Ch'i-yiu invoked the Lord "of Winds and the Rain Master with such effect that gales arose "and rains poured down. Now the emperor Hwang sent down a "celestial virgin, named Pah; thus that rainfall was stopped, so "that they could slay Ch'i-yiu. Pah then was unable to re-ascend, "and wherever she was, rains would not fall. Shuh-kiün reported "this to the Throne, on which the emperor (Hwang) assigned to "that woman a place on the north of the Red Waters. Thus "Shuh-kiün (by his intervention) became the Patriarch of Agricul- "ture, and Pah was banished for the time being. Those who wish "to expel her utter this command: 'Spirit, depart thou to the north', "removing beforehand all obstructions from the aqueducts, and "opening the canals and ditches" [3].

---

[1] 宣.

[2] 旱既大甚、滌滌山川、旱魃爲虐、如惔如焚. Section 大雅, III, ode 4.

[3] 大荒之中有人、衣青衣、名曰黃帝女魃。蚩尤作兵伐黃帝、黃帝乃令應龍攻之冀州之野。應龍畜水、蚩尤請風伯雨師從大風雨。黃帝乃下天女曰魃、雨止、遂殺蚩尤。魃不得復上、所居不雨。叔均言之、帝後置之赤水之北。叔均乃爲田祖、魃時亡之。所欲逐之者令曰、神北行、先除水道、決通溝瀆. Ch. 17, 大荒北經.

In ancient China the devils of drought do not seem to have been particularly prominent in the demon-world, for no Classic except the *Shi king* mentions them. The earliest source which acquaints us with popular conceptions with regard to them, is the *Shen i king*. "The southern regions", says, this work "are inhabited by human "beings two or three feet in height, naked, with their eyes on the "top of their heads. They run as quick as the wind. Their name "is 魃[1]. Countries where they appear suffer of great parching. "They are also named k o h-t s z ĕ. They move much amidst the people "in markets and at meetings, and should these men meet with one "and throw it into the privy-pit, it dies, and the drought will vanish. "There is an ode (in the *Shi king*) which runs: 'The devils of drought "wreak their atrocities'. Some declare that if they are caught alive "and murdered, misfortune passes away, and happiness ensues"[2].

Li Wei-ching[3], a high official, scholar and historian who lived from circâ 1547 to 1626, says in one of his writings: "It is a "positive fact that the p a h have their eyes on the top of their "head, and the people opine that droughts are a consequence of "a fear of Heaven that the falling drops may injure their eyes"[4]. Higher powers, as we have hinted on page 918 of Book I, also withhold the rains out of commiseration for the souls of unburied dead. This means so much as that disembodied human souls may be equally devils of drought; and the inference is ready that they may become so also for other reasons than because their material remains are exposed mercilessly to the inclemencies of the weather.

The actuality of this belief is attested by the following tale in the *Tszĕ puh yü* (ch. 18): "In the twenty-sixth year of the K h i e n l u n g "period (1761), when a great drought prevailed in the Metropolis,

---

1 We suppose that this character phonetically represents some dialectic term. The Khanghi Dictionary does not give its sound, this being, it says, unknown. Its radical 鼠 denotes the order of the Rodentia; therefore the demons of drought may have some time been conceived to have an animal shape.

2 南方有人長二三尺、袒身而目在頂上。走行如風。名曰魃。所之國大旱。一名倏忽。善行市朝衆中、遇之者投著厠中乃死、旱災消。詩曰、旱魃爲虐。或曰生捕得殺之、禍去福來.

3 李維楨.

4 魃目必在頂、俗謂天恐雨下傷其目故旱. TS. sect. 神異, ch. 315.

"a courier, named Chang Kwei, had to carry an urgent dispatch "from a Banner General to Liang-hiang. He left the city when "the water-clock was sinking. When he was in a lonely place, "a black shower suddenly hurtled around him. It blew out his "torch, so that he had to take shelter from the rain in the pavilion "of a post-house. Here a woman with a lamp joined him. She was "about seventeen or eighteen years old, and very beautiful. She "beckoned him to her house and refreshed him with tea, and he "tied his horse to a post, hoping to pass the night with her. The "courier's happiness exceeded his wildest expectations. He held her "in close embrace until the cock announced the first glimpse of "day, causing the woman to throw on her clothes and rise. She "could not be prevailed upon to stay. The courier, exhausted, fell "again into a sweet doze, and became aware in the midst of his "dreams that his nose was being cooled by the dew, and his mouth "tickled by the points of the grass. And when it was a little clearer, "he found himself on a tomb in the open plain. Greatly affrighted "he fetched his horse, which he found tied up to a tree [1].

"The dispatch he had to convey to its destination arrived there "fifty quarters of an hour too late, and the officer to whom it was "addressed sent a message to the General to ask for an explanation, "and to express his sorrow that matters had been managed in "a wrong way by reason of that delay. The General ordered his "adjutant to interrogate the courier sharply. The detailed account "which this man then gave of the causes, induced the General to "have that tomb investigated. It was found to be that of a young "woman of the Chang family, who had hung herself out of shame "at the discovery of the adultery which she had committed in her "unmarried state. From time to time her ghost had haunted way-"farers, and some took her for the pah of the prevailing drought, "whereas spectres in the shape of nao monkeys, with dishevelled

[1] 乾隆二十六年京師大旱、有健步張貴爲某都統遞公文至良鄉。漏下出城。行至無人處忽黑風捲起。吹滅其燭、因避雨郵亭。有女子持燈來。年可十七八、貌殊美。招至其家、飲以茶、爲縛其馬於柱、願與同宿。健步喜出望外。綢繆達旦鷄鳴時女披衣起。留之不可。健步體疲乃復酣寢、夢中覺露寒其鼻、草刺其口。天色微明方知身臥荒塚間。大驚牽馬、馬縛在樹上。

"hair and on one leg, are animal p a h, while hanged persons whose "undecayed corpses appear and bewilder men, are spectral p a h. "In order to cause rain to fall, it suffices to catch and to burn "these. The case having been reported to the Throne, they opened "the coffin, and it contained in fact the undecayed corpse of a woman "with features like those of a living person, and covered all over with "white hair. They burned it, and next day it rained heavily" [1].

Cases of corpses exhumed, mutilated or destroyed on the charge of causing a scarcity of rain, we must conclude to be far from rare in China, seeing that its Code of Laws contains a special article forbidding such practices. We gave a translation thereof on page 888 of Book I. Devils of drought having been men, or at any rate possessing a human appearance, it is not surprising to learn from some authors, that certain monstrous births become demons of this character. The *Kho t'an shi ch'wen* [2], "Traditions good for discussion", a work which belongs, I believe, to the T'ang or the Sung dynasty, mentions "women who give birth to beings shaped like "demons. If such a mother cannot seize and despatch the monster, "it flies away, to come back at night and suck her breasts, thus "often exhausting her strength. The people declare them to be devils "of drought. Of these demons there are specimens of either sex. The "females steal things in the houses and take them out of doors, while the "males steal things that stand out of doors, and carry them home" [3]. This last statement occurs also (see page 511) in other writings.

---

[1] 所投文書已誤期限五十刻、官司行查至本都統、慮有捺擱情弊。都統命佐領嚴訊健步。具道所以、都統命訪其墳。知爲張姓女子、未嫁與人通姦、事發、羞忿自縊。往往覺崇路人、或曰此旱魃也、猱形披髮一足行者爲獸魃、縊死尸僵出迷人者爲鬼魃。獲而焚之足以致雨。乃奏明、啟棺、果一僵女尸、貌如生、遍體生白毛。焚之次日大雨.

[2] 可談世傳.

[3] 婦人有產鬼形者。不能執而殺之則飛去、夜復歸就乳、多瘁其母 俗呼爲旱魃。亦分男女。女魃竊其家物以出、男魃竊外物以歸. T S, sect. 庶徵, ch. 96.

## CHAPTER III.

### ON WATER-DEMONS.

The second great division of the demon-world according to Confucius comprised, as we have seen on page 495, the water-ghosts, distinguished as lung or dragons, and wang-siang. The lung, which ancient works class also with the khwei or land-demons (see p. 496 *seq.*), may be passed unnoticed here, as they have not been retained in China in their old position of demons, but have been apotheosized at an early date as beneficent gods of clouds and rain.

Wang-siang looks much like wang-liang which denotes the mountain-spectres of the ancients; but it would be preposterous to infer from this resemblance the identity of the beings which the two terms denote. If these terms were synonymous, we should certainly not find them in one and the same strophe of the *Kwoh yü*, which we quoted on page 495, denoting two different categories of spectres. Nevertheless the one term may be a dialectic variation or a corruption of the other, and at any rate it is a fact that Chinese authors generally do not take the trouble to distinguish between them. To the etymology of the word wang-siang the characters with which it is written do not give any clue, not being, as far as we can discern, ideographic.

In his commentary upon the *Kwoh yü*, which we mentioned on page 498, Wei Chao says: "Some pretend that the wang-siang are anthropophagous. They are also called muh-chung" [1]. And Yü Pao, when reproducing the story of the earth-goat of Ki Hwan-tsze, adds: "The *Hia ting chi* or Record of Tripods of the Hia "says, that a wang-siang looks like a child of three years, "has red eyes, a black colour, big ears, and long arms with red "claws. Even when fettered with ropes it can find its food" [2].

[1] 或曰罔象食人。一名沐腫.

[2] 夏鼎志曰、罔象如三歲兒、赤目、黑色、大耳、長臂、赤爪。索縛則可得食. *Shen shen ki*, ch. 12.

Thus this class of spectres was, as well as the mountain-demons, invested by popular belief with human forms; which coincides with the fact, reported by Wang Ch'ung, the author of the *Lun heng* (see p. 499), that they are of human descent, being the progeny of the ancient sovereign Chwen-süh. That author informs us in the same passage, that they were regarded as fever-causing agencies. This peculiarity may have its origin in the observation that malaria arises especially from quagmires and bogs, and in the mud of rivers.

References to water-devils are frequent in works of early date. The imagination of the ancient Chinese, peopling, as it did, the surface of the earth with an unlimited number of demons, had every reason to do the same with the waters, seeing that these too are an integral part of the earth. "The waters", we read in the writings attributed to Kwan Chung, who lived more than twenty-five centuries ago, "are the lifeblood of the earth, which courses "through it like arteries and pulses" [1]. And he continues: "things "which mankind sees sometimes, produce k h i n g-k i, and things "which remain sometimes unseen engender the k w e i. When the "bed of a quagmire is not displaced for centuries, and its waters "are not absent from it all that time, it produces k h i n g-k i. These "are shaped like men. Their height is four ts'u n; they wear yellow "clothes with caps of the same colour, and carry yellow umbrellas. "They ride on colts, and like to galop with great velocity. By "calling them by their names they may be made to bring in one "day tidings from a place more than a thousand miles off. Such "are the spirits (ts i n g) of muddy bogs. The ts i n g of shallow "brooks are produced by the k w e i, that is to say, by beings with "one head and a double body, who are like snakes, eight feet long. "By calling them by their names you may employ them for catching "fish and turtles. Such are the ts i n g of dry brooks" [2].

---

[1] 水者地之血氣、如筋脉之流通者也 *Kwan-tsze*, ch. 14, or § 39.

[2] 或世見或世不見者生蟈與夔忌。故澗澤數百歲谷之不徙、水之不絕者、生夔忌。夔忌者其狀若人。其長四寸、衣黃衣、冠黃冠、戴黃蓋。乘小馬、好疾馳。以其名呼之可使千里外一日反報。此澗澤之精也。澗川之精者生於蟈、蟈者一頭而兩身、其形若蛇、其長八尺。以其名呼之可以取魚鱉。此澗川水之精也。 *Op. et loc. cit.*

Those khing-ki must not be confounded with a high minister of the same name who flourished under Hoh Lü, king of Wu, and was killed in the second year of the reign of this prince (513 B.C.). He too is represented in history as a great runner. "The king "said of him: Notorious among mankind he is for his strength; "his sinews and bones are so robust that ten thousand men cannot "stand their ground against him. He overtakes animals in full "galop, and he seizes birds in their flight; his bones then soar "through the air, and his flesh flies; there are then distances of "several hundred miles between his knees. I have pursued him in "the Kiang region, but my galoping team of four did not overtake "him; I shot at him, but he, I know not how, caught my arrows in "his hand and could not be hit" [1]. Such stories may have grouped themselves around this person owing to the similarity of his name to that of Kwan Chung's water-ghosts; or he may have been nicknamed a khing-ki on account of his swiftness.

The *Wu Yueh ch'un-ts'iu*, to which we owe the above particulars about that Khing-ki the Swift, teaches us also that in king Hoh Lü's time water-demons were by no means slighted as inoffensive beings. It relates that Wu Tsze-sü said to that king: "Tsiao Khiu-yin was a superior man from Tung-hai. Travelling as "an envoy from the king of Ts'i to the state of Wu, he had "to pass a ferry on the Hwai river, and would let his horse "drink at it, when the ferry-man said: 'There is a god (shen) in "the water, which when it sees a horse, comes out to harm it; "do not let yours drink there, sir'. 'A sturdy warrior is proof "against this danger', his answer was; 'what gods dare attack "me?' and he told his men to let the horse drink at the ferry; "but the demon seized the animal and drowned it. Tsiao Khiu-yin, "enraged, stripped and seized his sword, and he entered the water "to seek the god and fight it. He re-appeared after several days "with one eye blinded, and pursued his journey to Wu" [2].

---

[1] 王曰、慶忌之勇世所聞也、筋骨果勁萬人莫當。走追奔獸、手接飛鳥、骨騰肉飛、柎膝數百里。吾嘗追之於江、駟馬馳不及、射之、闔接矢、不可中. *Wu Yueh ch'un-ts'iu*, book IV.

[2] 子胥曰、椒丘訴者東海上人也。爲齊王使於吳過淮津、欲飲馬於津、津吏曰、水中有神、見馬卽出以害其馬、君勿飲也。訴曰、壯士所當、

In the time of the Tsin dynasty there was a tradition rife, according to which the great Yü, the founder of the Hia dynasty, "while inspecting the Hwang-ho, had seen a giant with the body "of a fish, who, emerging from the water, said: 'I am the spirit "of the Hwang-ho'. Fung-i from Tung-hiang in the Hwa-yin "region (Shensi pr.) having obtained the Tao of the Immortals, "was transformed into a director of the Hwang-ho. This immortal "Fung-i rides on a dragon or a tiger, while the watergods ride fishes "and dragons. They move with mad haste, ten thousand miles being "to them not more than the width of a house"[1]. Thus Fung-i was the chief and leader of the host of spirits which crowd China's biggest stream. We find an old reference to him in the writings of Chwang-tszé, which state: "When Fung-i had obtained the Tao, he availed himself of it to journey on the big streams"[2]. His name occurs in the shape 冰夷 in the *Shan-hai king*[3]. We may fairly confess that his origin is lost in the night of time. With some more water-spirits he is generally classed among the beneficent gods, who, far from causing ill, temper and repress the maleficent aquatic powers under their control, or make them work on behalf of man. Thus we must treat them afterwards, in our monographies of gods and goddesses.

The old superstion which ascribes accidents that befall those who cross a stream, mere or lake, to water-demons, comes out in numerous tales and legends of all times. To quote here one as an instructive example: "In the district of Puh-wei, in the principality "of Yung-ch'ang (pr. of Yunnan), there was under the Han dynasty "a tabooed water, having a poisonous vapour. Only in the eleventh "month and in the twelfth it might be crossed or waded, but "from the first month till the tenth it might not, or it would

---

何神敢干、乃使從者飲馬於津、水神果取其馬、馬沒。楸丘訢大怒、袒裼持劍入水、求神決戰。連日乃出、眇其一目、遂之吳. *Loc. cit.*

[1] 昔夏禹觀河、見長人、魚身、出曰、吾河精。馮夷華陰潼鄉人也、得仙道化爲河伯。仙夷乘龍虎、水神乘魚龍。其行恍惚、萬里如室 *Poh wuh chi*, ch. VII.

[2] 馮夷得之以遊大川 *Nan hwa chen king*, ch. 3, 大宗師.

[3] In the twelfth chapter, 海內北經.

"smite with sudden sickness and death those who did so. There "were in that vapour evil beings which never showed themselves, "but seemed to produce sounds as if they were fighting therein. "If a tree was hit by them it snapped, and if a man, he was "killed, and the people spoke of their demonish bullets. Those "attacks caused all the criminals of that principality who were "transported to the forbidden spot, to die before the tenth day"[1].

Nowadays the belief in spirits inhabiting seas, fiords and creeks, rivers, meres, marshes and wells, is general. We have seen its prevalence in the Amoy region strikingly illustrated by the custom of appeasing and propitiating them by means of paper money when people are passing over water with a coffin on the way to the grave (Book I, p. 154), and also by throwing for the same purpose money into wells from which they draw water to wash their dead (Book I, p. 14). The common opinion in that part of China is, that those *tsúi-kúi*[2] or "water-spectres" mostly are souls of the drowned. Having spent some time in their wet abode in the bondage of the watergods, they may be redeemed from this servitude by substitution, and therefore they lie in ambush for victims to draw into the water and make them take their place. Thus they are a constant lurking danger for people on the waterside, fishers, boatmen and washer-women. They blow hats into the water, or bleaching linen, or other articles, and while the owner exerts himself to recover his property, they treacherously keep the thing just outside his reach, until he loses his equilibrium and falls into a watery grave. It is told in a book, "that outside the gate of Wu-lin (near Hang-cheu, "in Chehkiang) a family, settled on the dyke of the western lake, "had an old servant, who fetched water after sunset and saw at "some distance a wine-jar floating past with the current. Thinking "it would be useful for holding things, he desired to get it, and "suddenly it floated towards him till it was just before him; but

---

[1] 漢永昌郡不韋縣有禁水、水有毒氣。惟十一月十二月差可渡涉、自正月至十月不可渡、渡輒病殺人。其氣中有惡物、不見其形、其似有聲如有所投擊內。中木則折、中人則害、土俗號爲鬼彈。故郡有罪人徙之禁防、不過十日皆死. *Shen shen ki*, ch. 12.

[2] 水鬼.

"as he seized it, his fore-arm was against his will pulled into the "mouth, which closing around it, dragged him into the water. His "cries of distress brought people to the rescue, who released him "from his precarious position" [1].

Should a corpse be found on the silt, its arms or legs worked deep into the mud, every one is sure to believe it a victim of a water-ghost, drawn down by those limbs with irresistible force. Cramps paralyzing a swimmer are likewise the clutches of a ghost. When a man is suddenly missed and found dead in the water, every one is ready to tell that a water-ghost decoyed him away from his house by some artifice, and drowned him: "a water-spectre has called some one to take its place": *tsúi-kúi kiò kao-t'òe* [2]; or "it has seized a substitute": *liáh kao-t'òe* [3].

It has been asserted [4] that the natives are often unwilling to help a drowning man or any one in absolute peril of life, fearing that the spirit of the person who perished last before him and is longing for relief by a substitution, will haunt the person whose humanity has condemned it to a fresh term of dismal servitude. We must, however, demur to the correctness of this statement, for we could never discover in Fuhkien a trace of such unwillingness, while, moreover, all the Chinese we interrogated on this head, protested against their humanity being thus called in question. On the great rivers there exist even life-saving societies, possessing boats and implements for the rescue of the drowning.

The belief that ghosts of drowned men catch substitutes, is by no means one of recent growth, but prevailed very long ago. "The Memoirs concerning the Sung-kiang Department (in south-"east Kiangsu) relate: In the Wan lih period (A.D. 1573—1620) "there lived in the western suburb at the upper end of a creek "where boats were repaired, a fisherman. One night he heard a "spectre say: 'I have endured this miserable fate for a year, and

---

1 武林門外西湖壩人家有老僕、日暮取水、遠見水面一酒鐶隨流而泛。因思採取亦可貯物、俄而鐶已至前、用手取之、不意腕入鐶口、口漸縮小、拖伊入水。急呼人救、獲免 *Tsz̆ puh yū*, ch. 23.

2 水鬼叫交替.

3 掠交替.

4 Dennys, The Folk-lore of China, ch. II, p. 22.

"now I can get a substitute, but this is a woman in the family "way, and I do not feel at liberty to destroy the two lives'. Next "morning a woman slipped into the water, but she was drawn "out safe and sound; she was, indeed, in the seventh month of "pregnancy. Another year passed away, when the fisherman again "heard the spectre say: 'The man who is now to take my place "has scanty means, and heavy responsibilities rest on him; if he dies, his "whole family becomes homeless and will be dispersed; I had better "wait yet a year'. And next morning a man fell from the bridge, "but he too escaped with his life. Then again that same evening "the spectre applied to the fisherman for some food. 'Twice', it "said, 'I have had a noble thought, and the gods have apprised the "Supreme Emperor (of Heaven) of it, who thereupon has ordered "that I shall no more have to beg here for food'. The fisher said "he hoped so, and in the evening of the next day the spectre "returned to take leave of him, and announced to him its appoint-"ment as Manager of the soil in Mao-khiao" [1].

Still older are the two following tales from a book of the tenth century [2]: "On the banks of the Yangtszĕ river and the Hwang-ho "there are many ch'ang demons, who now and then call a "man by his surname and his name. If he answers, he is sure "to be drowned, it being the soul of a dead man that decoys

---

1 松江府志。萬曆間西郊修船浜上有捕魚者。夜聞鬼云、我受苦一年求得代者、然此婦懷妊、不忍害其二命也。旦日一婦失足下水、卽起無恙、果有妊七月矣。至次年又聞鬼言、今代我者又有細布重役、死則一家星散、吾寧再俟一年。旦日有人從橋墮下、亦不死。是夕鬼向捕魚者索飯。云、我有二念、諸神爲奏上帝、帝命將下不復在此方索食。捕魚者許之、明夕鬼又來別云、我已作泖橋司土地矣. TS, sect. 神異, ch. 32.

2 Namely the *Poh mung so yen* 北夢瑣言 or Fragmentary Communications from my Dreams in the North, *i. e.* north of the Yangtszĕ, in King-cheu 荊州, where the author resided. This work, in twenty chapters, is ascribed to Sun Kwang-hien 孫光憲, also named Meng-wen 孟文, a high official under the founder of the Sung dynasty. It deals mostly with officers and official life under the T'ang dynasty and the Five dynasties, and is reputed among scholars to contain much of genuine historical value.

"him (into the stream). One Li Tai-jen had moored his boat in a "bend of the shore in the Chi-kiang district (in south Hupeh, on "the Yangtszĕ) and saw in the bright moonlight a damsel with a "boy emerge from the water. She gazed around, and then whispering "'yonder is a living man', she hurried off over the water as if on "solid ground, went ashore, and disappeared.

"Su Jui, prefect of Tang-yang (north of Chi-kiang), once, when "in Kiang-ling (King-cheu), was going home at night, and saw "by the light of the moon a beautiful woman with dishevelled "hair, with a robe and petticoat apparently wet. He asked her "jokingly: 'Are not you a river-ch'ang?' This question infuriated "the woman, and with the words: 'You say I am a spectre?', she "ran after him. He ran away with all speed, till he fell in with a "patrol of watchmen, who saw the woman turn her back on them "and go by the same way she had come" [1].

We learn from these two tales, that souls of the drowned are styled ch'ang 倀. This term indicates also the souls of victims of tigers, which popular belief represents as urging these monsters to devour new victims, in order that the spirits of these may take their place in the bondage in which they are held by the tiger, and thus deliver them therefrom. We shall meet these ch'ang anew on pp. 554 *sqq.*

As illustrations of the modern notions on water-spectres, we offer the reader here a couple of tales from the *Tszĕ puh yü*. "Chang "Hung-yeh, my cousin by the mother's side, lodged in Ts'in-hwai "in a house of the family P'an, built on the river. In a summer-"night he went to the privy. The water-clock had sunk to the "mark of the third watch and all human sounds were hushed, "and, as the moon shone bright, he leaned for a moment over "the balustrade, charmed by its lovely light. There he heard a "rippling noise in the water, perceiving at the same time a

[1] 江河邊多倀鬼、往往呼人姓名。應之者必溺、乃死魂者誘之也。李戴仁嘗維舟於枝江縣曲浦中、月色皎然忽見一嫗一男子出水面。四顧失聲云、此有生人、遶馳水面若履平地、登岸而去。

當陽令蘇洌居江陵嘗夜歸、月明中見一美人、被髮、所著裙裙始似水濕。洌戲云、非江倀耶。婦人怒曰、喚我作鬼、奔而逐之。洌走、遇更巡方止、見婦却返所來之路 K K, ch. 352.

"human head coming up to the surface. Astonished to see a "swimmer at this untimely hour, he looked at it attentively, "and saw that neither its eyes nor eyebrows were marked with "black. The creature reared itself straight up in the water, rigid, "with a neck as immovable as that of a wooden image. Chang "threw a stone at it, on which it sunk back into the water. Next "day in the afternoon a lad was drowned by that spot, and then "it was no longer doubtful that that apparition was a water-demon.

"As he related this event to some fellow lodgers, a rice-dealer "amongst them told them, that water-ghosts are curious fellows "searching for human lives. In his early years, when a rice-dealer "in Kia-hing (Chehkiang pr.), he had to cross a yellow mud "canal, which he did on a buffalo, the mire being deep. When "just in the middle of the pool, a black hand was protruded "from it to grasp his foot. But as he drew up his legs, the "hand seized that of the buffalo, preventing the animal from "stirring. Struck with fright, the rice-merchant called the passers-by "to the rescue. All hands combined to pull the buffalo forward, "but the beast did not move; they therefore singed its tail "with fire, on which, unable to endure the pain, it dragged "itself out of the mud by a sudden exertion of its whole strength. "An old broom was then found tied to its belly, so fast that it "could not be detached. It was even hardly possible to approach, "so rotten and so filthy it was. They struck it off with sticks, and "during this operation it made a moaning noise, while a liquid "trickled out of it — mere black blood. Having cut the thing off "with knives, they fetched fuel and burned it, but the stench was "not gone in a month. Since that time there were no more cases "of suffocation in that yellow mud canal" [1].

---

[1] 表弟張鴻業寓秦淮潘姓河房。夏夜如厠。漏下三鼓、人聲已絶、月色大明、張愛月憑欄。聞水中喤然有聲、一人頭從水中出。張疑此時安得有泅水者、諦視之、眉目無有黑。身僵立、頸不能動如木偶然。以石擲之、仍入於水。次日午後有一男子溺死、方知現形者水鬼也。

以此告同寓人、有米客因言、水鬼索命之奇客。少時販米嘉興過黃泥溝、因淤泥太深故騎水牛而過。行之半溝有黑手出泥中、拉其脚。其

— "In Hwui-ki, one Wang 'Rh, a dress-maker, passed after "sunset along the Heu hills with some female garments in his "hands, when he saw two men in a state of nature, with black "faces, jump forth from the water. They pulled him into the river, "and he, unable to resist, followed them, when on a sudden, after "a few steps, another being with pendent eyebrows and a tongue "protruding from its mouth, came flying down out of the pines "on the hill. In its hands it held a long rope, which it slung "around Wang 'Rh's waist, to pull him ashore; but thus a contest "arose with the black-faced spectres. 'He is our substitute', the "latter cried, 'why do you rob us of him?' But he with the rope "retorted: 'Wang 'Rh is a master-tailor, and you are river-demons "living with naked buttocks in the water; you wear no clothes at "all, on what tasks then will you employ him? you had better "give him to me'. And Wang 'Rh perceived through his faintness "that they pulled him to and fro between them. He was conscious "a little, and said to himself: 'If these woman's clothes are lost, "all my labours will not avail to pay their value', and he hung "them on a tree. Just then his uncle was going home by another "path. Astonished to see in the moonshine woman's clothes, green "and red, on a tree, he came nearer to see, and the three spectres "dispersed, leaving Wang 'Rh with his mouth and ears stuffed with "blue mud. His uncle took him home, and thus in the nick of "time saved him from death" [1].

---

人將脚縮上、黑手卽拉牛脚、牛不得動。客大駭呼路人、共牽牛、牛不起。乃以火炙牛尾、牛不勝痛、盡力拔泥而起。腹下有敝帚緊繫不解。腥穢難近。以杖擊之、聲啾啾然、滴下水、皆黑血也。衆人用刀截帚下、取柴火焚之、臭經月纔散。自此黃泥溝不復溺人矣. Chapt. II.

[1] 會稽王二以縫衣爲業、手挈女裙衫數件、夜過吼山、見水中跳出二人、倮身、黑面。牽之入河、王不能自主、隨行數步、忽山頂松樹間飛下一人、垂眉、吐舌。手持大繩、套其腰、曳之上山、與黑面鬼被此爭奪。黑面鬼曰、王二是我替身、汝何得奪之。持繩鬼曰、王二是成衣師父、汝等河水鬼、赤屁股在水中、並無衣服、要做何所用之、不

Tales of water-demons possessed of more or less power to work evil, have been recorded in Chinese literature in considerable numbers. Many are very wild and absurd. Thus, "the fisherman Li "Hoh-t'ah, who always cast out his nets in the Yangtszĕ, hauled "up a child, some three feet in height. It made the water in the "net foam up wildly, and the whirls it caused were not calmed "in ten days. A Taoist doctor witnessed it. 'Pour out some molten "iron there', he said; the other did it, and the whirls came to a "standstill. It was observed that the child's mouth, nose, eyebrows "and hairs all looked as if painted, and that it had no eyes; its "mouth smelt of liquor. The crowd in their consternation threw "it back into the water" [1].

— "And one Yao, serving in the Tsing-hai army in Tung-"cheu (?), was at the head of some of his footmen fishing in "the sea for a certain instalment of annual tribute, when it "grew dusk before they had caught more than a very small "quantity of fish. He was then on the point of despairing, when "suddenly they hauled up in their net a black man, covered all "over with long hair. As he stood before them with clasped "hands, they asked him who he was; but he gave no answer. "A sea-captain then spoke: 'This is what we call a merman; when "he appears, misfortune is sure to occur; therefore pray kill him, "to put a stop to his evil deeds'. But Yao retorted: 'No, he "is a divine being, and mishap will on the contrary befall us if "we kill him'. He then disentangled him from the net, and invoked "him, saying: 'If you bring shoals of fish here for me, and thus "save me from punishment for falling short in the work imposed "on me by my office, I will believe you are a god'. On these

---

如讓我。王亦昏迷聽其互拉然。心中畧有微明、私念、倘遺失女裙衫則力不能賠、因掛之樹上。適其叔從他路歸。月下望見樹有紅緑女衣、疑而近前視之、三鬼遂散、王二口耳中全是青泥塡塞。扶之歸、竟脫于死. Chapt. IX.

[1] 漁人李黑獺者恒張網于江、忽獲一嬰兒、可長三尺。網爲亂涎、所縈浹旬不解。有道士見之。曰、可取鐵汁灌之、如其言、遂解。視嬰兒口鼻眉髮如畫、而無目、口猶有酒氣。衆懼復投于江. *Ki shen luh*: K K, ch. 471.

"words the hairy man made some dozen steps back over the water "and sank out of sight. Next morning they caught a large haul of "fish, twice as much as they were wont to catch in other years" [1].

No doubt every part of China possesses special notions and superstitions on water-devils, not always reduced to writing. We have obtained some from the lips of seamen in coasting along the Fuhkien shores. Sometimes in full sea a compact cloudy mass suddenly darkens the horizon. It nears the ship with great rapidity, to capsize her and drown her crew. It is no tornado, no water-spout, no squall, but the spirit of a woman, once a sailor's lovely wife. Her husband, most unworthy of her, treated her ignominiously, even cruelly, until, preferring death to such a life, she cast herself into the vasty deep. Since then she rages at sea, a wrathful demon, against every junk she sees, in the hope that her husband may be amongst the crew and be sunk into her own watery grave. Happily there are efficient means to combat her. First of all all the hatches must be closed; indeed, she is so unmannerly as to pass on high a flood of urine, which may fill the ship in a moment up to the deck. Therefore Amoy sailors call her the *tsʿoā jiō pó* [2], the Pissing Woman. But still more measures are to be taken. As soon as this nymph appears, paper mock money must be burned on the deck, in order to propitiate her and appease her wrath; crackers and blunderbusses must be fired to scare her away, and one of the crew in the garb of nature has to climb the mast, his hair dishevelled, with a club, axe, sword or spear. This weapon he brandishes up there most awe-inspiringly, abusing the woman in every way and sense, and exhausting his vocabulary of invectives to the last word; no wonder that the fair Naiad, sure to see and hear her lovely goodman of former days, takes fright and decamps. Meanwhile

---

[1] 東州靜海軍姚氏率其徒捕海魚、以充歲貢、時已將晚而得魚殊少。方憂之、忽網中獲一人、黑色、舉身長毛。拱手而立、問之、不應。海師曰、此所謂海人、見必有災、請殺之以塞其咎。姚曰、此神物也、殺之不祥、乃釋而祝之、曰、爾能爲我致羣魚、以免闕職之罪、信爲神矣。毛人却行水上數十步而沒。明日魚乃大獲、倍於常歲矣. *Op. cit.*; K K, *ibid.*

[2] 尊溺婆.

another sailor in a black gown with long, spacious sleeves has taken up a position on the deck, and is pacing a kind of dance to the sound of a gong beaten by a comrade. During these exorcising movements he brandishes a stick, from the top of which some shreds of red cloth flutter in the gale. By these efficacious and dignified evolutions he greatly aids the prowess of his undressed comrade up the mast. Success certainly crowns their efforts, for they do not cease until the dangerous phantom withdraws and the shower clears off. Such ship-saving dancers the Amoy Chinese call *bú tik khò*[1]. There is one on each junk that plies, especially enrolled to exorcise the Pissing Woman, but performing sailor's work in good weather times. The dances require special study and training, their effect being nought unless performed with all the finesse of art. A *bú tik khò* receives extra pay for all ship-saving work he does.

Another dreaded demon of the Amoy seamen is the *hái hé-siūⁿg*[2] or "sea-bonze". This resembles a fish, but its head is like that of a bald-shaved Buddhist priest. It may be a seal or dugong. When the sea is rough, this monster seizes junks and capsizes them, or drags them down into the deep, crew and all. Against this demon also the *bú tik khò* is set to work with his stick, gown, and dances; moreover, some handfulls of feathers are burned on the deck, for the stench of these is bad enough to make even a sea-devil turn tail. With a view to the visits of sea-bonzes, every supercargo who combines belief with prudence, takes good care to have one or two small bags of feathers in the ship. Cases are known of dozens of small sea-monks having been caught in one net, looking up to the fishermen in the attitude of praying Buddhist priests, as if imploring their mercy.

How great are the dangers with which sea-devils beset poor seafaring folk, the following tale will tell: — "A certain Ch'ing Chi-"chang of Hang-cheu was under sail from Ch'ao-cheu and passed "Hwang-kang, when halfway the voyage a gale arose. A black "vapour came up of a sudden, and in the midst of it a man was "seen, painted black all over, but his eye-sockets and his lips were "as white as flour. He settled on the bow of the ship and blew "at the sailors. These, thirteen in number, turned at the same "moment as black in their faces as the spectre itself, and only "three of them were not thus coloured; then in a few moments "the vapour dissipated, and the apparition vanished. The ship

1 舞 ? ?. 2 海和尙.

"proceeded on her voyage amid violent storm and heavy seas; she "capsized, and ten men were drowned, namely all those who had "changed colour. The three who had not suffered the change were "the sole survivors" [1].

By far the greatest contingent to the class of water-devils is made by aquatic animals. We find among them otters or beavers, tortoises, gavials or crocodiles, and fishes, occasionally in human shape or in their own; but a rational arrangement of our material compels us to treat them in Chapter V, 5, 7 and 9.

[1] 杭州程志章由潮州過黃崗渡海、汊半渡天大風。有黑氣冲起、中有一人、渾身漆黑、惟兩眼眶及嘴唇其白如粉。坐船頭上以氣吹舟中人。舟中共十三人頃刻貌盡變黑、與之相似、其不變者三人而已、少頃黑氣散、怪亦不見。開船風浪大作、舟覆、水中死者十人皆變色者也。其不變色之三人獨免. *Tsze puh yu*, ch. 22.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ON GROUND-DEMONS.

Finally we come to the last of the three categories into which the ancient Chinese have divided their world of spectres, namely those inhabiting the ground, which, as we have seen on page 495, were called fen-yang in the time of Confucius and thought to have a goat-like shape.

Of the story, related in the *Kwoh yü*, how Ki Hwan-tszĕ discovered a fen-yang in the ground (page 495), a strange version is stated to have been written two centuries before our era by Han Ying [1] in a collection of anecdotes from ancient times, embellished and illustrated by odes which, side by side with other documents all now lost, have furnished material for the compilation of the *Shi king* under the Han dynasty. According to that book, now printed in ten chapters and bearing the title of *Han-shi wai ch'wen* [2], Han's extra Traditions concerning the Odes, "Ngai, the ruler of Lu, "ordered a well to be dug. In three months they had not yet reached "the watersprings, but they found a living goat. The ruler ordered "his Invokers to operate on it with drums and dances, in order to "send it up (as a sacrifice?) to heaven, but the goat could not "be sent up. Confucius saw the animal and said: 'The vital spirit "(tsing) of water is jade stone, and that of earth is a goat; so "this goat must have an earthen liver'. The ruler ordered the "animal to be killed, and they found its liver to be of earth" [3].

It appears strange that this gnome was represented as a goat.

---

1 韓嬰.　　2 韓氏外傳.

3 魯哀公使人穿井。三月不得泉、得一生羊焉。公使祝鼓舞之、欲上於天、羊不能上。孔子見曰、水之精爲玉、土之精爲羊、此羊肝土也。公使殺羊、視肝卽土. This tale does not occur in the copy we have on our shelves. We quote it from the TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 113.

We find nothing in any book to account for it. Possibly the word fen-yang may, fundamentally, not have meant goat, but being written, as in the *Kwoh yü* version, with the characters 羵羊, signifying some goat or sheep because, as at present, the word yang 羊 denoted the genus Capra, the Chinese, deluded by appearance, may have imagined a fen-yang to be a specimen thereof. That, originally, fen-yang did not mean sheep, is suggested also in some degree by its appearance in some works without the first component having the prefix 羊. In a biography of Confucius which occurs in the Historical Records[1], it has the prefix 土, earth, which, without modifying its sound, gives it the meaning of a grave (comp. p. 1073 of Book I), so that in this form (墳羊) the binomium is translateable by "grave-goat". The beast seems, indeed, to have been connected with graves in subsequent times, for we find in the third century goats or sheep play a part in the imagination of the people as devourers of the buried dead. We have stated this fact already on page 468 of Book I. We there learned two other names for those necrophagous demons, *viz.* ngao 蠔 and wei 媿, which may be local terms, the characters by which they are written not being ideographic. Thus simple-minded people, having from days of yore been bent on keeping the dead in their graves uncorrupted, and yet finding them there regularly eaten away in a mysterious manner, ascribed this phenomenon to the teeth of underground beasts, unable, as they were, rationally to explain natural decomposition.

P'ei Yin asserts in the commentary which he wrote in the fifth century upon the Historical Records, that "according to T'ang Ku, the fen-yang were beings with undeveloped sexuality"[2]. The sexless or hermaphroditic beast was, as Wang Ch'ung has taught us (*supra*, p. 499), the progeny of an ancient emperor, haunting houses and ruins, and afflicting babies with convulsions. Besides this statement, Wang Ch'ung inserted in his valuable book the following interesting notice on this class of spectres:

"If it is true that the spirits who inhabit the soil object to it "being disturbed and dug up, then it is proper for us to select "special good days for digging ditches and ploughing our fields. "(But this is never done); it therefore follows that the spirits of

1 Chapter 47, l. 6.

2 唐固曰、羵羊雌雄未成者也. Khienlung edition of the Historical Records, ch. 47, l. 6.

"the soil, even though really annoyed when it is disturbed, pass over "such an offence if man commits it without evil intent. As he commits "it merely to ensure his rest and comfort, the act cannot possibly excite "any anger against him in the perfect heart of those spirits; and this "being the case, they will not visit him with misfortune even if he "do not choose auspicious days for it. But if we believe that the earth-"spirits cannot excuse man on account of the object he pursues, and "detest him for annoying them by disturbing the ground, what ad-"vantage then can he derive from selecting proper days for doing so?" [1]

Thus we learn that in the first century of our era the earth-spirits, except on certain selected days, did not tolerate any digging in the ground, and exacted vengeance for so doing. We find this superstition illustrated as follows: "The *T'ai-p'ing yü lan* has the "following quotation from the *Sin yen* of P'ei Yuen: Amidst the "people there are spirits, called lords of the earth, and they say "that the soil may not be stirred. I, P'ei Yuen, possess a grand-"daughter, five years old, who suddenly became ill. I went to the "diviner in the bazaar, who told me that she had offended the "soil. Forthwith I applied to her the remedies usual in such cases, "which effected her total cure. Ever since I have been convinced "that there exist ground-spirits in this world" [2].

In these extracts the gnomes appear under the names of t i s h e n and t'u s h e n [3], "spirits of the ground or the earth". They are generally so denoted in the books. We have seen on page 499

---

[1] 如以動地穿土神惡之、則夫鑿溝耕園亦宜擇日。夫動土擾地神、地神能原人無有惡意。但欲居身自安、則神之聖心必不忿怒、不忿怒、雖不擇日、猶無禍也。如土地之神不能原人之意、苟惡人動擾之、則雖擇日何益哉. *Lun heng*, ch. 24, sect. 譏日.

[2] 太平御覽引裴元新言、俗間有土公之神、云土不可動。今元有五歲女孫、卒病。詣市卜、云犯土。乃卽依方治之、病率愈。然後知天下果有土神矣. *T'ung suh pien* 通俗編, "Book on the Investigation of Customs", a cyclopaedia in thirty-eight chapters bearing the name Cheu T'ien-tu 周天度 for its author. Our edition is dated 1751.

[3] 地神 and 土神.

that in Wang Ch'ung's age they were deemed to reside also in objects attached firmly to the ground, as in dwellings and ruinous buildings, in corners and nooks. With all these characteristics they survive in China to the present day.

In Amoy and the surrounding farming-districts the existence of earth-spectres, locally called *t'ó sín*[1] or "earth-spirits", is an implicit article of the popular creed. The belief in them there bears, as may be the case everywhere in China, the clearest marks of the influence of the philosophical conception that the soil is the productive part of the Universe, which, fecundated by the celestial sphere, engenders everything that has life. In the Cosmos the soil represents perfect stability, and for this propensity it is able to bring forth vegetation. A natural conclusion is, that if the soil is disturbed, the repose and growth of the embryo in the womb of women is, by the law of sympathy, disturbed too.

Therefore, still more often than by the term *t'ó sín*, the Amoy Chinese denote those spectres by that of *t'ai sín*[2], "spirits of the womb or fruit". Their baneful influence extends even to babies already born, these just as well as vegetable products being dependent for their growth on life-producing earth. It is the *t'ai sín* that cause the convulsions, restlessness, and other ailments to which infants are so subject, and everybody feels sure that, should a child fall into the clutches of such a spirit, it will forthwith turn blue or black. Especially, however, the *t'ai sín* are notorious for causing the pains of pregnancy. These are usually called *tāng t'ai* or *t'ai tāng*[3], "displacements or movements of the fruit", and ascribed to the shifting of some earth, some heavy object, or piece of furniture.

Such agitation of the foetus may assume serious proportions, and entail miscarriage. The fear of such a result restrains a man from many imprudent acts, should his wife or concubine be pregnant. Especially perilous it is then to drive a nail into a wall, as it might nail down the earth-spirit that resides in it, and cause the child to be born with a limb stiff and lame, or blind of one eye; or it might paralize the bowels of a child already born, and give it constipation with fatal result. The dangers which threaten a pregnant woman, increase as her pregnancy advances. In the end nothing which is heavy may be displaced in the house, it being well known that the earth-spirits are wont to settle preferably in things which, owing to their weight, are seldom moved. But even the shifting

[1] 土神. [2] 胎神. [3] 動胎 or 胎動.

of light objects is a source of danger. Instances are known of fathers who had rolled up their bed-mat after it had long lain flat, being frightened by the birth of a child with a rolled-up ear. One day I saw a boy with a harelip, and was told by the father that his wife, when pregnant of this child, had thoughtlessly made a scissure in an old coat of his, while repairing it.

In a small obstetrical handbook circulating in Amoy under the title of *Kwang sheng pao kien* [1], "Precious Mirror for the Furtherance of Childbirth", we find it explicitly stated, that a pregnant woman "may not witness the beginning of any works connected "with the reparation or erection of buildings, nor any grubbing in "the ground" [2]. On another page of that book we read: "A work "entitled Necessary Knowledge for the Furtherance of Childbirth "says: Among the matters which do not promote procreation of "offspring, the moving and displacing of objects certainly causes "calamities. Repairs performed at a neighbour's house or at one's "own, or the stirring of the ground, produce evil effects upon the "breath or soul of the unborn fruit, and are apt to destroy its "body and injure its life. But that infliction of injury with a "sharp instrument should wound the foetus, or injury done to "the soil should close its apertures, or beating or kicking things "should render the foetus blue and black, or the binding together "of things should cause its limbs to be cramped or stiffened — "such sayings are groundless stories of doctors of (occult) science, "and not one in a hundred having a good foundation, they must "not be believed. But what women in the family way must never "see, is the first commencement of any works or repairs, pounding "or battering, and the stirring of the ground; it is advisable for "them to absent themselves carefully from such works" [3].

Thus the commotion created among the earth-spirits by repairs

---

[1] 廣生寶鑑.

[2] 修造興工動土不可看. Sect. 達生編, l. 15.

[3] 便產須知云、不利嗣息動必成災。雖鄰家自家修造動土犯其胎氣、令子破形損命。刀犯者形必傷、泥犯者竅必塞、打擊者色青黯、繫縛者相拘攣等說、此爲術者妄言、百無一驗、必不可信。惟修造興工、下椿動土、皆非娠婦所宜見、謹避之可也. Sect. 宜麟策, l. 32.

of edifices or by earth-labours seems especially perilous for pregnant women at the beginning of the works. In fact, when at Amoy any one undertakes something of the kind, the neighbours take good care to seek lodgings elsewhere for their women who are expecting confinement, not allowing them to return ere the works are fairly advanced and the disturbed spirits have had time to re-settle in their old seats. In default of a suitable place to shelter such a woman, public opinion, I was assured, absolutely obliges the builder to delay till after her confinement.

It is not only earth-ghosts that cause abortive pregnancy. Every demon may do this, even by actually fecundating the woman and rejoicing her heart with a pregnancy which, after long duration, results in nothing. On this point we shall have more to say in Chapter XIV.

The gnomes of our western folklore, guardians of mysterious underground treasures, are very slightly represented in China's Demonology. We may ascribe this to the fact that mining never was of great significance there. All we have found concerning them amounts to the following strange narrative:

"Celestial roes are no men, but belong to the class of k i a n g s i "or corpse-demons (see Ch. X). Yunnan province has many mines "from which five kinds of metal are extracted. If they collapse, "preventing the miners from getting out, then, if these men are fed "for ten years or even for a hundred by the breath of the earth "and of those metals, their bodies do not decay. Though they are "not dead, their material substance is dead.

"It being underground perpetual night for those who work "those mines, these men mostly carry a lamp on their forehead. "When, while working their way into the ground, they fall in "with a celestial roe, this is entranced with joy. Complaining of "cold, it asks them for some tobacco, which it smokes immediately; "then it prostrates itself upon the ground, entreating the men to "take it out of the mine. In reply the miners say: 'We have "come here for gold and silver, and we have not yet discovered "any veins from which to procure some; do you know where the "gold grows?' And the celestial stag guides them to a mine where "they can reap a rich harvest. But on leaving the mine, they "delude the spectre, saying: 'We must get out first, and then "we shall take you out of the shaft with the lift'. And by the "rope fastened to the bamboo lift they haul the creature up, but "halfway they cut the rope, letting it fall down and die.

"It has occurred that the men in charge of the mine-sheds

"were more benevolent and compassionate, and hauled up some "seven or eight of those beings. But as soon as these felt the "wind, their clothes, flesh and bones changed into a liquid giving "out a rancid, putrid stench, which smote with contagious disease "all those whose olfactory nerves it affected, so that they died. "This is the reason why, ever since, those who haul up celestial "stags cut the rope, lest they have to endure again that stench "and lose their lives. Should they refuse to haul them up, they "risk being molested by them incessantly. It is also said, that when "a small number of celestial stags are overpowered by a great "number of men, tied, placed against an earthen wall, and immured "firmly on the four sides with walls of clay, a sort of terrace with "a lamp being built overhead, they will do no further harm. But "if men are outnumbered by stags, they are tormented to death "by these, and not allowed to escape" [1].

---

[1] 乾麅子非人也、乃僵尸類也。雲南多五金礦。開礦之夫有遇土壓、不得出、或數十年、或百年爲土金氣所養、身體不壞。雖不死、其實死矣。

凡開礦人若地下黑如長夜、多額上點一燈。穿地而入遇乾麅子、麅子喜甚。向人說冷、求烟吃、與之、烟噓吸立盡、長跪求人帶出。挖礦者曰、我到此爲金銀而來、無空出之理、汝知金苗之處乎。乾麅子導之得礦、必大獲。臨出則紿之、曰、我先出、以籃接汝出洞。將竹籃繫繩拉乾麅子、於半空剪斷其繩、乾麅子輒墜而死。

有官廠人、性仁慈憐之、竟拉上乾麅子七八個。見風、衣服肌骨卽化爲水、其氣腥臭、聞之者盡瘟死。是以此後拉乾麅子者必斷其繩、恐受其氣而死。不拉則又怕其纏擾無休。又相傳人多、乾麅子少、衆縛之、使靠土壁、四面用泥封固作土墩、其上放燈臺、則不復作祟。若人少、乾麅子多、則被其纏死、不放矣. *Tszĕ puh yü*, Continuation, ch. IV.

## CHAPTER V.

### ON ANIMAL-DEMONS.

The three preceding chapters have demonstrated, that from the earliest times to which the written products of China enable us to ascend, spectres have often been represented in that country in animal forms. We have, in fact, found dragons and goats among them, apes or monkeys, and stags, and we may then reasonably expect to find a very large contingent contributed to China's demon-world in all times and ages by the animal kingdom in general.

To comprehend adequately the rationality of this phenomenon we only have to realize another, already brought out in this Book in strong relief, to wit, that spectres generally are represented in the shape of man and with his characteristics and attributes, while at the same time animals are not in Chinese mind and thought essentially different from men. If a man can be a spectre, why then cannot an animal be a spectre as well? Philosophy implicitly decreed since olden times that beasts have the same natural constitution as man, both being built up, body and soul, of the same yang and yin substances of which the Universe itself consists.

But while identification of spectres with men remained the prevailing conception, the investment of animal-spectres with human attributes was the result. Men, as well during their lives as after, may assume animal forms with malicious intent; but, conversely, animals may transform themselves into men with no more kindly object. Such metamorphoses may be bodily, but hardly ever seem to come about but for the co-operation of the soul. Such animal-spectres do not differ from the ordinary were-beasts we have described in our chapter on Zoanthropy (pp. 156 *sqq.*), except in the possession of a large dose of manifest malignity, which seems, indeed, the only feature entitling them to a place in the world of demons.

The belief in animals haunting as spectres would hardly seem

possible if there were no conviction that their souls may show themselves outside their bodies in the same shape as these. Numerous places in Chinese books attest that such a conviction prevails, but the two following tales may suffice to prove it:

"Sun Hiu of the Wu dynasty [1] having a patient, sought an exorcist "(h i h) and seer. Having found one, and wishing to put him to "the test, he killed a goose, buried it in the open plain, constructed "a little shed over the spot, and placed a couch therein, with female "shoes and clothing upon it. Then he told the man to examine "that spot. 'If you can tell me the shape of the woman who abides "as a ghost in yonder grave', he said, 'I will bestow a rich reward "on you, and believe in your capacities immediately'. But the man "uttered no word in the course of that day. The emperor then "repeated his question with more emphasis. 'To speak truly', came "the answer, 'I see no ghost; a white goose standing on the tomb "is all I see. I did not tell this immediately, for it might be a "k w e i or s h e n that took this form, and I had to wait until its "true shape should re-establish itself; but as, for some reason un-"known to me, it does not re-assume its other shape, I now dare "tell Your Majesty the truth" [2].

"When the Minister of Agriculture Yang Mai was young, he "was fond of hunting. He himself tells us, that when hawking in "the fields during his stay at Ch'ang-ngan, he saw a hare hop "about in the shrubs at some distance from him. His falcon "too perceived the animal, and immediately flew to the spot to "catch it, but when it came there, there was nothing at all. Yang "Mai took the bird on his cuff, and having proceeded several paces, "looked behind him at the same spot, and again he saw the hare "run there. As before, the hawk swooped upon it, but likewise

---

1 The emperor King 景; he reigned from A.D. 258—263.

2 吳孫休有疾、求覡視者。得一人、欲試之、乃殺鵝而埋于苑中、架小屋、施床几、以婦人屐履服物著其上。使覡視之。告曰、若能說此冢中鬼婦人形狀者、當加厚賞而卽信矣。竟日無言。帝推問之急。乃曰、實不見有鬼、但見一頭白鵝立墓上、所以不卽白之、疑是鬼神變化作此相、當候其眞形而定、不復移易、不知何故、敢以實上.

*Shou shen ki*, ch. 2.

"without catching it; and the same thing taking place a third time, "Yang Mai ordered his men to cut the herbage away and seek "for the hare. They then found its skeleton, so that they had "had to do with a hare's ghost" [1].

The literature of China is rich in tales of animal-devils in all forms and shapes. Mammals, birds, fishes and insects are represented as transporting their souls into men, thus infecting these with disease or making them mad; they also emit their souls from their bodies to disquiet villages and dwellings. Koh Hung was convinced that especially old animals might become devils in a human shape, and he gave expression to this opinion in a passage we have translated on page 162. We shall see that his view was generally shared, and is set forth frequently in the legends and traditions which have served us for the composition of this Chapter. Since there are hardly any animals in China which play a part of some importance in human life without doing this also as demons under some aspect or other, a large amount of material illustrative of Demonism is supplied to the student who explores the written zoological mythology of that part of the earth.

### 1. Tiger-demons.

The royal tiger we find foremost in China on the list of animal-demons. He is, indeed, its most ferocious brute, distributed over almost its whole area, the terror of its people, often throwing villages into general commotion and panic, or compelling country-people to remove to safer spots. The reader knows from page 160 that early Chinese literature mentioned man-tigers as ravening demons. Tales preserved in the books of every age prove that the belief in such spectres has always prevailed. And that this belief is not extinct at present, is sufficiently attested by the fact that such tiger-lore is continually reprinted, read, and transmitted by mouth; moreover, a somewhat intimate acquaintance with

[1] 司農卿楊邁少好畋獵。自云在長安時放鷹于野、遙見草中一兔跳踉。鷹亦自見、即奮往搏之、既至無有。收鷹上鞴、行數十步、回顧其處、復見兔走。又搏之、亦不獲、如是者三、即命芟草以求之。得兔骨一具、蓋兔之鬼也. *Ki shen luh*, quoted in the K K, ch. 443.

Chinese soon convinces us, that tiger-tales are generally taken for actual events, as, in truth, is the case with everything which is transmitted by the writings of by-gone days. Many such tales reveal new and interesting points in tiger-lore. Hence the small collection inserted in the following pages will be found useful also as a supplement to the dissertation on Tigroanthropy, which we have written pp. 163 *sqq.* of this Book.

Folk-lore represents tiger-demons as metamorphosed men ravening over large areas. "Ch'en Tsung, a native of Tan-yang", T'ao-Ts'ien relates, "exercised the profession of diviner near the chief city of "that district. In the I hi period (A.D. 405—419), when Tan Heu, "a general of the left division, who was very fond of the chase "and occupied himself much with tiger-hunting, was governor of "Ku-shuh [1], it happened that a rider wearing fur breeches, followed "by another in similar dress, came to that soothsayer with some "ten coins wrapped in paper. 'Must we go westward to find some-"thing to eat', they asked, 'or is the easterly direction the best?' "Tsung laid out a combination of divining-stalks, thereupon con-"sulted it, and declared the easterly direction to be auspicious, but "the other (where the formidable Nimrod lived) unprofitable. Still "the men asked him for some drink, and put their mouths inside "the cups after the manner of cows that drink; then they left the "diviner's house and went on in the easterly direction, but no "sooner were they some hundred paces off than the follower and "his horse both changed into tigers. And since then tigers ravened "in the country with extraordinary fierceness" [2].

Who shall count the hapless men who, suspected of being tigers in disguise, have fallen victims to fear and exasperation?

---

1 Ku-shuh and Tan-yang were parts of the present T'ai-p'ing department (太平府) on the Yangtsze, in Nganhwui province. The city of T'ai-p'ing is the first on the river above Nanking.

2 丹陽人沈宗在縣治下以卜爲業。義熙中左將軍檀侯鎮姑熟、好獵、以格虎爲事、忽有一人著皮袴乘馬、從一人亦著皮袴、以紙裹十餘錢來詣宗卜。云西去覓食好、東去覓食好。宗爲作卦、卦成占之、東向吉、西向不利。因就宗乞飲、內口著甌中狀如牛飲、既出東行百餘步、從者及馬皆化爲虎。自此以後虎暴非常. *Shen shen heu ki*, ch 9.

And how many times has this vulgar credulity been aroused against objects of hatred, in order to get them lynched? A man-tiger despatched by the mob was Wang Yung, whose story we gave on page 177. Another victim was the poor heroine of the following tale:

"About the end of the rule of the Liang dynasty (circâ A.D. 556), "Hwang Khien, a Shi-hing man (in the north of Kwangtung), had "a younger sister, named Siao-chu or Little Pearl, affianced to a "native of the same district, who answered to the name of Li Siao. "Little Pearl accompanied her brother's wife into the mountains to "gather tree-seeds. They passed by a temple, where Little Pearl felt "so great an attraction exercised upon her, that she refused to go "home. And when on the way home, she ran away alone up the "road to the temple, hurrying into the shrubs at the sight of people.

"Hwang Khien's wife apprised Li Siao of the incident, who con- "cluded from it that the girl must have some ulterior object. One "night he was returning with a comrade from the district magistrate, "by whom he was summoned, when the two men were surprised "by a shower of rain, and perceiving a fire in an apartment of the "temple, resorted thither to dry their clothes. They discovered some "worn clothes on the raised platform which bore the image of the "god, and after a moment heard the sound of footsteps outside. "Affrighted, they concealed themselves behind the platform and the "screen, and instantly beheld a tiger, moving with waving tail and "rapid bounds straight towards the fire. There the monster divested "itself of its teeth and claws, rolled up its skin, and placed every- "thing on the platform of the god; then it put on the clothes, and "squatted down by the fire.

"Now Li Siao saw that there was his Little Pearl. He straightway "embraced her and spoke to her, but not one word passed her "lips. At daybreak he took her home and deposited her at Hwang "Khien's house. Here they confined her in an outhouse, and cast raw "flesh before her, which she accepted and devoured; and her mother, "who watched her constantly, perceived that she did nothing else "but gaze at the pig. A few days later she changed again into a "tiger. The villagers now armed themselves with bows, ascended the "roof of the house, and thence shot their arrows into the outhouse, "thus killing her. In the next year a tiger ravened so frightfully "that the people had to shut their houses even in the daytime, "and the prefect Hiung Ki-piao reported the matter to the Throne"[1].

[1] 梁末始興人黃乾有妹小珠、嫁同縣人李甫。

We also read of were-tigers delivered by the people up to the magistrates, and formally put to death by their orders. Thus, "in "the first year of the T'ai yuen period of the Tsin dynasty "(A.D. 376) there lived in the district of Ngan-luh, which forms "a part of the Kiang-hia department (province of Hupeh), a certain "Shi Tao-süen, twenty-two years old, who, before his youth had "entirely passed, became mad and changed into a tiger. The number "of those whom he thereupon devoured cannot be given. A girl "who plucked mulberries under the trees, he carried off, and when "he had devoured her, he concealed her bracelets and hairpins "between the rocks, whence he fetched them up afterwards, when "he had re-assumed human shape and remembered his deed. One "year after, he returned home and lived there again as a man; "subsequently he distinguished himself in the service of the "Government and became a dignitary within the Palace [1].

"One night he was chatting with some people, when the subject "of metamorphoses and strange apparitions in the Universe was "touched upon. 'There was a time', Tao-süen said, 'when I was

---

小珠共嫂入山採木實。過神廟而小珠在廟戀慕不肯歸。及將還、復獨走上廟、見人卽入草中。

乾妻來告肅、肅以爲更有他意。肅被縣召、將一伴夜還、値風雨、見廟屋有火、二人向火炙衣。見神牀上故衣、少間聞外有行聲。二人惶怖入神牀屏風後、須臾見一虎、振尾奮迅直至火邊。自脫牙爪、捲皮、置牀上、著衣、向火坐。

肅看乃小珠也。肅徑抱小珠、共語不應。明日將歸、送向乾家。乃閉置一室、擲生肉則接食之、其母恆看守之、唯視猪。少日又成虎。村人乃將弓弩、上舍、發屋射殺之。明年有虎暴、百姓白日閉門、太守熊基表以聞之. *Hu wei.*

[1] 晉太元元年江夏郡安陸縣師道宣年二十二、少未了了後忽發狂、變爲虎。食人不可紀。後有一女子、樹下採桑、虎取食之、食竟乃藏其釵釧於山石間、後復人形知而取之。經年還家、復爲人、遂出仕官、爲殿中令史。

"so ill that I became deranged in mind, changed into a tiger, "and devoured men'; and he mentioned the names of his victims. "But there were persons among those seated around whose fathers, "sons or brothers he had devoured. With loud cries and howling "they seized him, and delivered him to the magistrates; and he "died of hunger in the prison of Kien-khang"[1], *i. e.* the present Nanking, then the Imperial capital.

"— A certain man in Sung-yang entered the mountain to gather "fuel. Overtaken by the dark, he was pursued by two tigers. As "quickly as he could he climbed a tree, which was, however, not "very high, so that the tigers sprang up against it, but without "reaching him. Suddenly they said to one another: 'If we can find "Chu Tu-shi, we are sure to get this man'. One tiger then remained "to keep watch at the tree, while the other went away, and on a "sudden there appeared another tiger, leaner and longer, and con-"sequently peculiarly fitted to catch prey. The moon was shining "brightly that night, so that our hero distinctly discerned how the "small tiger frequently stretched out its paws at his coat; but his "fuel-axe was still at his waist, and just when the brute grabbed "at him again, he dealt it a blow and hacked off its fore-claw. "With loud roars the tigers ran off one after the other, and not "until the morning the man went home.

"The assembled villagers asked him what had happened, and when "he had related his adventure, one of them said: 'There lives one "Chu Tu-shi in the east of this district; let us go and visit him, "to see whether it is he or not'. Some men went and asked about "him; 'last night', they were told, 'he went out for some moments "and wounded his hand; hence he is now in bed'. Having thus "attested that he was the tiger, they denounced him to the prefect "of the district. This grandee ordered his underlings to arm them-"selves with swords, to besiege his dwelling, and set fire to it. "Chu Tu-shi suddenly rose from his bed, ran about, changed into a "tiger, and charging upon the men escaped; and it is unknown "whither he went"[2].

---

[1] 夜共人語、忽道天地變怪之事。道宣自云、吾曾得病發狂、遂化作虎啗人、言其姓名。同坐人或有食其父子兄弟者。於是號哭捉送赴官、遂餓死建康獄中. *Ts'i hui ki*; K K, ch. 426.

[2] 松陽人入山採薪。會暮、爲二虎所逐。遑得

This anecdote demands our attention. It strikes us, that a wound inflicted on a were-beast is believed in China to be visible also on the corresponding part of its body when it has re-assumed the human shape. This is also a trait of our own lykanthropy. Olaus Magnus [1] relates, that a few years before he wrote, the wife of a nobleman expressed to her slave her disbelief in the possibility of the metamorphosis of men into wolves; whereupon the slave, to prove that she was in the wrong, himself assumed such a shape. Over the country the were-wolf ran, hotly pursued by the dogs, which tore out one of his eyes, and next day the slave re-appeared before his mistress, blind of one eye. In the same century it is stated by Majolus [2], that duke Albrecht of Prussia had a peasant brought before him at Königsberg, who had devoured his neighbour's cattle and bore large wounds in his face, which he had received from the teeth of dogs whilst he had been in the form of a wolf. Bodin Angevin wrote [3], that the Royal Procurator-General Bourdin had assured him he had had to pass sentence in the case of a wolf whom some one had wounded with an arrow in the thigh, which arrow had been found some hours later in the thigh of a man in bed. And Collin de Plancy relates [4]: "L'an 1588, en un "village dans les montagnes d'Auvergne, un gentilhomme, étant "sur le soir à sa fenêtre, aperçut un chasseur de sa connaissance,

---

上樹、樹不甚高、二虎迭躍之、終不能及。忽相語云、若得朱都事應必捷。留一虎守之、一虎乃去、俄而又一虎、細長善攫。時夜月正明、所以其人備見小虎頻攫其衣、其人樵刀猶在腰下、伺其復攫、因以刀砍之、斷其前爪。大吼相遂皆去、至明人始得還。

會村人相問、因說其事、村人云、今縣東有朱都事、往候之、得無是乎。數人同往問訊、答曰、昨夜暫出傷手、今見頓臥。乃驗其眞虎矣、遂以白縣令。命羣吏持刀、圍其所而燒之。朱都事忽起、奮迅成虎、突人而出、不知所之. *Kwang i ki*; K K, ch 342.

1 Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus (1555); last chapter of book XVIII.

2 Baring Gould, The Book of Werewolves, p. 58. Andree, "Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche", p. 78.

3 "La Démonomanie des Sorciers", edition of 1598, p. 257.

4 "Dictionnaire Infernal", page 313.

"et le pria de lui rapporter de sa chasse. Le chasseur en fit pro-
"messe, et, s'étant avancé dans la plaine, il vit devant lui un gros
"loup qui venait à sa rencontre. Le loup l'attaqua fort vivement,
"mais l'autre, en se défendant, lui ayant coupé la patte droite avec
"son couteau de chasse, le loup estropié s'enfuit et ne revint plus.
"Le chasseur gagna la maison de son ami, et tira de sa gibecière
"la patte qu'il avait coupé au loup, mais il fut bien étonné de
"voir cette patte convertie en main de femme, et à l'un des doigts
"un anneau d'or que le gentilhomme reconnut être celui de son
"épouse. Il alla aussitôt la trouver; elle était auprès du feu, et
"cachait son bras droit sous son tablier. Comme elle refusait de
"l'en tirer, il lui montra la main que le chasseur avait rapportée;
"cette malheureuse éperdue avoua que c'était elle en effet qu'on
"avait poursuivie sous la figure d'un loup-garou; ce qui se vérifia
"encore en confrontant la main avec le bras dont elle faisait partie.
"Le mari courroucé livra sa femme à la justice; elle fut brûlée.
"On ne sait trop que penser d'une telle histoire, qui est rapportée
"par Boquet [1], comme étant de son temps".

The most horrid specimens of the tiger-demon class, which Chinese fancy has created, are those who assume a woman's shape with malicious intent, and then tempting men to marry them, devour them in the end, and all the children in the mean time produced. A victim of such monstrous perfidy was "Ts$^{c}$ui T$^{c}$ao, a man of "P$^{c}$u-cheu. Whilst travelling to Ch$^{c}$u-cheu (in Nganhwui) he reached "Lih-yang, situated to the south, and started for Ch$^{c}$u-cheu at day-"break, then halting at an inn for travelling officers, called Bene-"volence and Rectitude, to pass the night. 'This inn is under evil "influence', the inn-keeper said, 'I pray you, do not lodge here'. But "T$^{c}$ao would not heed this advice, and with his satchel on his back "went up to the main apartment, while the inn-keeper provided "him with a lamp and a candle.

"At the second watch T$^{c}$ao spread out his blankets, and was "just going to rest, when he saw at the gate a big paw like "that of a quadruped. On a sudden the gate was flung open, and "he saw a tiger walk in. In his fright he hurried into an "obscure corner, and there concealed, observed the beast put off its "animal skin in the middle of the courtyard and become a girl of "extraordinary beauty, well dressed and ornamented, who walked

1 "Discours des Sorciers", Lyons, 1608; page 341.

"up the steps into the main apartment, and laid herself down on "his blankets.

"Now T'ao appeared. 'Why do you lie down in my blankets?' "he asked; 'just now I saw you enter in the guise of a beast, "what was that for?' The girl rose and said: 'I hope you will "dismiss all your surprise. My father and my elder brother are "professional huntsmen, and my family is so poor that all their "attempts to find a fashionable match for me have failed. I became "aware of this and secretly wrapped myself in a tiger-skin at "night, for, well knowing that there lodge high class people here, "I had resolved to give myself to one of them for sprinkling and "sweeping his floor [1]. But all guests and travellers successively have "dismissed me for very fear, and this night only I have the good "fortune to find a man with intelligence, whom I may hope will "pay attention to my feelings'. 'If all this is really the truth', "T'ao replied, 'I desire no better myself than to accept a life with "you of joyful concord'. Next day he took the girl with him, having "first thrown the tiger-skin dress into a dry well behind the hall [2].

"Afterwards he took a degree on account of his studies of "the Classics, and became (military?) prefect of Süen-ch'ing. While "journeying thither with his wife and boys, they after a month or

---

1 That is to say, to perform for him the household duties of a wife.

2 崔韜浦州人。旅遊滁州南抵歷陽、曉發滁州、至仁義館宿。館吏曰、此館凶惡、幸勿宿也。韜不聽、負笈昇廳、館吏備燈燭。

訖而韜至二更展衾、方欲就寢、忽見館門有一大足如獸。俄而其門豁開、見一虎自門而入。韜驚走於暗處潛伏視之、見獸於中庭脫去獸皮、成一女、奇麗嚴飾、昇廳而上、乃就衾。

韜出。問之曰、何故宿余衾、適見汝爲獸入來、何也。女子起、謂韜曰、願君子無所怪。妾父兄以畋獵爲事、家貧、欲求良匹無從。自達、乃夜潛將虎皮爲衣、知君子宿於是館、故欲托身以備灑掃。前後賓旅皆自怖而擯妾、今夜幸逢達人、願察斯志。韜曰、誠如此、意願奉歡好。來日韜取獸皮衣棄廳後枯井中、乃挈女子而去。

"so again stayed for a night in the inn of Benevolence and Recti-
"tude. 'It is here that I met with you for the first time', said
"T'ao laughingly, and at once he went to the well to look into
"it; and verily, there the skin-dress still lay. This caused him to
"burst again into a laughter. 'The dress you had on at that time
"is there still', he called to his wife. 'Have it fetched up', she
"said. And when she saw it in his hands, she continued, still
"laughing: 'let me try it on again'. He gave his consent; the
"woman descended from the steps and put on the skin-dress; but
"no sooner had she done so than she changed into a tiger, which
"moved up the steps of the main apartment with roars and bounds,
"devoured the boys and T'ao into the bargain, and ran away" [1].

The *Hu wei*, from which we draw this tale, gives us yet another of a ravening tiger-demon who made himself a tiger or a man at pleasure by putting a tiger-skin on or off. "In the Kien yen
"period (1127—1130) there were so many tigers in King-nan
"(King-cheu, in Hupeh pr.) that a great part of the population
"living without the walls removed into the city to escape their
"attacks. One Chang Sze had not yet removed, when a tiger came.
"He hastily hid himself among the beams of the roof. The brute
"walked up the steps of the main apartment of the house, put
"off its skin, and changed into a man, who departed through the
"gate to look for him. Chang forthwith descended and grasped the
"skin; but no sooner had he placed it on the beam than the tiger
"came back. Missing his skin, he showed great consternation, then
"drew a sealed commission out of his bosom, unfolded it on the
"ground, and said: 'Heaven gave me this commission to take away
"the members of the Joh and other clans, but I have erased their
"names from it, except those of the Joh; give me back my skin, and
"I will leave the Joh people unmolested'. But Chang said: 'I will
"not give it unless you blot out my name too'; and when the

[1] 後韜明經擢第、任宣城尉。韜與妻男將赴任、行不月餘復住宿仁義館。韜笑曰、此館乃與予始會之地也、韜往視井中、獸皮衣然如故。韜又笑。謂其妻曰、往日夘所著之衣猶在。妻曰、可令人取之。既得、妻笑謂韜曰、妾試更著之。依請、妻乃下階、將獸皮衣著之、纔畢乃化虎、哮吼奮然上廳、食子及韜而去. *Hu wei.*

"tiger took a writing-brush out of his clothes and erased his name, "Chang cast the skin down. The tiger put it on, re-assumed his "former shape, and roared and bounded so tremendously that Chang "shivered for fright, and was about to tumble down from his place "when off ran the beast. Next day the tiger was killed by a flash "of lightning, more than sixty miles from that place" [1].

Like our were-wolf [2]), the man-tiger of China is represented sometimes as a necrophagous brute. "Under the reign of the emperor "Hiao Wu of the Tsin dynasty", an old tale runs, "it happened "in the fifth year of the T'ai yuen period (A.D. 380) in the "district of Ts'iao, in the department of the same name, that one "Yuen Siang, a poor fellow, while going home in the twilight fell "in on the road with a girl of fifteen or sixteen, whose charms "and beauties were perfect in every respect. She gave herself to "him to be his wife, and in five or six years they attained "very flourishing pecuniary circumstances She gave birth to two "sons, and when these boys were ten years old, the family had "grown very wealthy. But then there occurred a fresh case of "death in their village. After the burial the woman hurried to "the grave, there put off her clothes and hair-pins, hung them on "a tree, changed into a tiger, opened the grave, dragged the coffin "out of it, seized the corpse, and devoured it. When satiated, she "returned to the human shape. But some one had seen it, and "secretly apprised her husband of it; 'your wife is no human being', "he said, 'she will commit some outrage upon yourself'. Siang did "not believe it; but when after a time another case of death "occurred and the woman behaved in the same way, that man

---

1 建炎間荆南多虎、郭外人多移家入城避虎。張四者移未畢而虎至。急竄於梁。虎升堂、蛻皮、化爲丈夫、出門尋張。張下、取皮、置梁上、虎還。失皮甚窘、探懷中丹符、陳於地、曰、吾奉天符取若等姓名、都除、惟若在耳、能還我皮當拾若。張曰、除我名迺還汝皮、虎出筆除之、張擲皮下。虎蒙皮復故形、咆哮大躍、張震駭、幾墜、虎去。明日六十里外雷震殺虎.

2 "On connaît en Basse Normandie une sorte d'esprits appellés les Lubins. Ils se "déguisent en loups et vont rôder la nuit, cherchant à entrer dans les cimetières, "sans doute pour s'y repaître d'une hideuse proie". Amélie Bosquet, La Normandie Romanesque, p. 138.

"took him to the spot to observe her. Thus he learned the truth. "She thereupon scoured the district and its hills, devouring corpses "again and again" [1].

As in other countries where royal tigers live, so in China exceptional specimens are known to prey preferably on men. But instead of ascribing this idiosyncrasy to their having experienced how easy a prey man generally is, or to their steady predilection for human flesh after having once tasted it, the Chinese aver that the man-eater is incited by the ghost of every last victim to a new murder. Thus fancy has created a class of injurious devils which have no animal shape, and are no animals transformed into demons, but human spectres in the service of an animal, or sometimes thought to inhabit it.

The human soul under the impulse or guidance of which a man-eater ravens, is called ch'ang kwei [2]. This term we may probably translate by "the ghost of him who lies flat upon the ground", that is to say, of the victim. Often this ghost is denoted by the word ch'ang alone. "When a man has been slain by a tiger", Li Shi-chen wrote, "he becomes a ch'ang kwei, which leads the monster as a guide" [3]. In the Khanghi dictionary we find the same belief expressed in the following words: "When a tiger bites a man in "such a way that death ensues, his soul (hwun) has not the "courage to go elsewhere, but regularly serves it as a slave, and "is called a ch'ang" [4]. At the very time when it kills its victim,

---

[1] 晉孝武太元五年譙郡譙縣袁雙、家貧客、作幕還家、道逢一女、年十五六、姿容端正。卽與雙爲婦、五六年後家資甚豐。又生二男、至十歲家乃巨富。後里有新死者。葬後此女逃往至墓所、乃解衣脫釧、挂樹、便變形作虎、發冢、曳棺出墓外、取死人食之。食飽後還變作人。有見之者竊語其壻、卿婦非人、恐將相害。雙聞之不信、經時後有死者、帆復如此、後將其壻共看之。述知其實。後乃越縣趨墟、還食死人. K K. ch. 426

[2] 倀鬼.

[3] 人死於虎則爲倀鬼、導虎而行. *Pen-tsao kang muh*, ch. 51, I, l. 2.

[4] 虎嚙人人死、魂不敢他適、帆隸事虎、名曰倀.

the beast avails itself of this remarkable fascinating power in order to compel the soul to re-enter the corpse and revive it, so that it may properly undress before being eaten, and thus no clothes or threads may bother the monster at its bloody meal (comp. B. I, p. 44). "When a tiger slays a man", said Twan Ch'ing-shih, "it has the power to make his corpse rise and doff its clothes, "after which it devours it" [1]. The two following tales illustrate this curious folk-conception:

"A literary graduate of the second rank, bearing the surname of "Li, but whose name I have not found, lodged in the mounts of "Süen-cheu (now Ning-kwoh [2], in Nganhwui pr.). He had a slave "in constant attendance on him, a man so lazy that he had to "lash and cane him frequently, and who entertained for this "reason a deep grudge against his master. It was in the ninth "year of the Yuen hwo period of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 814), "that Li had two friends with him in an outhouse of his dwel- "ling, and called the slave. But he was asleep. This aroused Li's "anger to such a pitch that he inflicted on him several times "ten lashes. With hatred and rancour in his heart the slave left "the room. 'This is a year with an intercalary month', said he to "his comrades, 'and thus, as men declare, there must be many "tigers; why then do not they devour me?' With these words, he "left the gate, and then suddenly his shrieks were heard. The "other slaves rushed out to seek him, and as they failed to discover "him, they followed the track of a tiger over a distance of more "than ten miles. There they found him half devoured, by the river- "side. His clothes with his kerchief and boots were neatly folded "up and placed in a pile on the grass; for tigers can keep their "victims in employ as servants, and these are the souls of those "victims" [3].

---

[1] 虎殺人能令屍起、自解衣、方食之. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 16.

[2] 寧國府.

[3] 詞舉人姓李、不得名、寄居宣州山中。常使一奴、奴頗慵惰、李數鞭笞、多有忿恨。唐元和九年李與二友人會於別墅時呼奴。奴已睡。李大怒、鞭之數十。奴懷恚恨出。謂同儕曰、今是閏年、人傳多虎、何不食我。言訖出門、忽聞叫

— "In Süen-cheu, one Chang Tsun was the guest of Yuen T'an-
"chwang, the prefect of the district of Lih-shui. His wife was
"carried off by a tiger, and Tsun swore that he would avenge
"himself. Armed with arrows, he entered the mountains, climbed
"a big tree close by the tiger's den, and watched the beast. He
"there perceived that his wife was dead, and was watched by the
"tigress, until the corpse rose of its own accord, made obeisance
"to the brute, dotted her clothes, and in this naked state fell down
"again upon the ground. Then the tigress led four cubs out of the
"den, each of the size of a wild cat. Wagging her tail and hopping
"joyfully, she licked the dead body, till the cubs came and gnawed
"at it emulously; but Tsun killed the brute with some arrows, cut
"off its head, and having slain the four cubs too, took their heads
"home, with his wife on his back" [1].

The principal advantage a man-eater draws from his ch'ang kwei consists in that it brings him on the track of new human prey; indeed, every such spectre in turn desires no better than to deliver itself from its servility by getting a substitute. Thus continuously driving tigers to homicide, those spectres belong to the most dangerous class in China. On account of their aversion from the bondage they are in, they sometimes decoy their striped master, and rid themselves of his tyranny by leading him into traps and pitfalls prepared by his enemies. Thus did the ch'ang kwei of which the following lines give us the story:

"In the last year of the T'ien pao period (A.D. 755) there
"lived in Süen-cheu a young lad close to a mountain. Whenever
"he grazed the cattle, he saw a spectre with a tiger behind it,

聲。奴輩尋逐、無所見、循虎跡十餘里。黯邊奴已食訖一半。其衣服及巾鞋皆疊摺置於草上、蓋虎能役使所殺者、魂神所爲也. *Yuen hwa ki*, K K, ch. 430.

[1] 張俊者宣州溧水縣尉元濟莊客也。其妻爲虎所取、俊誓欲報讎乃挾矢入山、於近虎穴處上大樹伺之。乃見其妻已死、爲虎所禁、屍自起拜虎、訖自解其衣、裸而復偃。虎又於穴中引四子、皆大如貍。掉尾歡躍、以舌舐死人、虎子競來爭食、俊連射斃之、截虎頭、并殺四子、取其首、負妻而歸. T S, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 63. Another version, drawn from the *Yuen hwa ki*, is given in the K K, ch. 433.

"and when this had occurred more than ten times, the lad spoke "thus to his parents: 'As that spectre brings a tiger along with it, "I am sure to be killed. People say, that the souls of those whom tigers "devour become their ch'ang kwei; thus shall I certainly have "to become such a spectre on my death. When then I find myself "under the orders of the tiger, I will lead it to the village, where "you may then catch it with a pitfall you must prepare in the "main street'. Some days afterwards the boy was actually killed "by the tiger, and later on appeared in a dream before his father, "saying: 'I am a ch'ang kwei now; to-morrow I shall take the "tiger thither; be quick to prepare a pitfall on the west side'. "The father and his fellow villagers followed this hint, and when "the pitfall was ready, they caught a tiger in it on the same day"[1].

Instead, however, of leading their tyrants to their doom, thus to obtain their own redemption without causing the destruction of other human lives, the ch'ang kwei protect their tigers, accompanying them everywhere to remove dangers out of their path. "In Sin-"yang (now Kiu-kiang, in Kiangsi) a huntsman earned a living by "capturing tigers. He set out a cross-bow on the roadside and "inspected the spot every day; and regularly he found the "prints of a tiger close by and the arrow loosed, without the beast "being hit. On account of the old assertion that a man whom a "tiger devours becomes its ch'ang kwei, he lurked in a tree "beside the spot, in order to watch it, and perceived after the "second watch a little sprite in blue garments, with hair growing "to a level with its eyebrows. Cautiously it walked to the bow, "let the arrow fly, and withdrew, and after a moment a tiger "came, trod against the bow, and passed on. Now the hunter knew "all about it; he put another arrow into the bow and retired, "but there the sprite was again to act as before. A second time

---

[1] 天寶末宣州有小兒、其居近山。每至放牧恆見一鬼引虎逐已、如是已十數度、小兒謂父母云、鬼引虎來則必死。世人云爲虎所食其鬼爲倀、我死爲倀必矣。若虎使我則引來村中、村中宜設穽於要路以待虎、可得也。後數日果死於虎、久之見夢於父云、身已爲倀、明日引虎來、宜於西偏速修一穽。父乃與村人作穽、穽成之日果得虎. *Kwang i ki*; K K, ch. 428.

"the man hurried down from his tree and adjusted an arrow in "the same place, climbing into the tree again to spy. And in a "few moments the tiger came and trod against the bow; the arrow "went off and pierced its flanks, so that it expired. After a good "while the spectre re-appeared. Finding the tiger dead, it hopped "about with gesticulations of excitement, and vanished" [1].

Thus may dangerous ch'ang kwei, as other spectres, be outwitted by men. Another proof that their intellect and perspicacy are not above those of man, is afforded by the following tale: "In "Sin-cheu (now Kwang-sin [2], in Kiangsi pr.) a certain Liu Lao "exercised on behalf of the lay world functions as an abbot (in a "monastery) between the mountain-brooks. A man who possessed some "two hundred geese (wished to obtain religious merit and) requested "Liu Lao to keep those birds for him until they died a natural "death, and he came regularly himself to that place to see and "feed them. A few months later not a day passed without some "of the geese being stolen by a tiger, and more than thirty were "thus destroyed, when its behaviour began to displease the villagers. "They set pitfalls around the place where the birds were kept, but "from that moment no tiger came there any more.

"Some days passed thus, when Liu Lao received an unexpected "visit of an old gentleman with a large head and a long beard, "who asked him how it was that the geese had diminished so "considerably. The answer was that a tiger had stolen them. 'Why "then do not you catch the beast?' the old man asked. 'We have "set out traps, but it has not come back', replied Liu Lao. "'Then it is its ch'ang kwei that warns it', the other retorted;

---

[1] 潯陽有一獵人、常取虎爲業。於徑施弩弓焉、每日視之、見虎跡而箭已發、未曾得虎。舊說云人爲虎所食卽作倀鬼之事、卽于其側樹上密伺、二更後見一小鬼、青衣、髡鬌齊眉。蹩躠而來弓所、撥箭發而去、後食頃有一虎來、履弓而過。既知之、更攜一隻箭而去、復如前狀。此人速下樹、下架箭而登樹覘之。少頃虎至、履弓、箭發、其虎貫脇而死。其倀鬼良久却回。見虎死遂鼓舞而去也. *Yuen hwa Li*; K.K. ch. 433.

[2] 廣信府.

"'first arrange matters with that sprite, and then you will get "the tiger'. On being asked how then the capture were to be "effected, the old man said: 'The spirit is very fond of sour things; "so you must lay black and white plums on the highroad, and "arbutus fruits; it will eat them up without heeding anything else, "and meanwhile you will catch the tiger'. On these words the "greybeard vanished. That same night they followed his advice and "strewed such fruits on the road; and after the fourth watch-drum "had resounded they heard a tiger fall into a trap. From that "time there was no further disappearance of geese" [1].

Man-eaters then being dependent on their ch'ang kwei for their safety and life, we cannot be surprised to find the two beings represented as having completely reversed their respective positions of master and slave. Indeed, not seldom the spectre completely domineers over the tiger; nay, we see it turn harmless men into tigers with no other purpose, evidently, than to gratify on them its passion for despotism. This trait renders the ch'ang kwei doubly dangerous, as the following legend may show:

"In King-cheu (probably the present Teng-cheu [2] in Honan) a "certain man passing over a mountain, fell in with a ch'ang "kwei, which cast a tiger-skin over him, and thus transformed "him into a tiger. For some three or four years he was under the "domination of the sprite, seizing and devouring all that time an "untold number of men and cattle, and wild animals too. But

---

[1] 信州劉老者以白衣住持於山溪之間。人有鵝二百餘隻、請劉放生、恒自看養。數月後每日爲虎所取、以耗三十餘頭、村人患之。羅落陷穽遍於放生所、自爾虎不復來。

後數日忽有老叟、巨首長鬚、來詣劉、問鵝何以少減。答曰、爲虎所取。又問、何不取虎。答云、已設陷穽、此不復來。叟曰、此爲倀鬼所教、若先制倀則當得虎。劉問何法取之、叟云、此鬼好酸、可以烏白等梅及楊梅布之要路、倀若食之便不見物、虎乃可獲。言訖不見。是夕如言、布路之、四鼓後聞虎落穽。自爾絶焉. *Kwang i ki*; KK, ch. 431.

[2] 鄧州.

"though he had the body of a tiger, he did so maugre himself, "and merely because he could not help it.

"Once upon a time, as the spectre was conducting the tiger past "the gate of a Buddhist monastery, the beast availed himself of "this opportunity and fled into the store-room, where he concealed "himself under the bed of the monk in charge of that place. The "scared brethren hurried to the abbot to apprise him of the event, "and a Dhyâna-master [1] just then abiding in the monastery, who "possessed the capacity of taming intractable beasts, appeared at "the place where the tiger lay. 'My dear disciple', he asked, "laying his crosier upon him, what do you want here? is it to "devour us, or are you merely disguised as a beast?' On this the "tiger lowered his ears and shed tears. The Dhyâna-master slung "his towel around the monster's neck and took him to his own "cell, where he fed him regularly on ordinary food for men and "animals, and other good things.

"After half a year the tiger shed his hair, returned to human "shape, and recounted in detail the beginning of this tale. For "two years he did not venture out of the monastery, but after "that period he walked out of the gate now and then, and on one of "such occasions he suddenly met the ch'ang. Again this cast a skin "over him, and he immediately leapt back into the monastery; but "the skin had touched his limbs below the waist, which thus "re-assumed tigrine forms. He then set himself to recite fervently "holy books for longer than a year, and then regained his old "shape; but from then he dared no more pass through the gate of "the monastery, and finally died there" [2].

---

1 A monk who seeks salvation by means of dhyâna, i. e. by fixing his thoughts steadfastly upon the state of bliss.

2 荊州有人山行、忽遇倀鬼、以虎皮冒己、因化爲虎。受倀鬼指揮凡三四年、博食人畜及諸野獸不可勝數。身雖虎而心不願、無如之何。

後倀引虎經一寺門過、因遽走入寺庫、伏庫僧牀下。道人驚恐以白有德者、時有禪師能伏諸橫獸、因至虎所。頓錫問、弟子何所求耶、爲欲食人、爲酬獸身。虎弭耳流涕。禪師手巾繫頸、牽還本房、恒以衆生食及他味哺之。

半年毛落變人形、具說始事。二年不敢離寺、

The conceptions prevailing in China about the ch'ang kwei, we find for the most part amply illustrated in a curious legend reprinted in the *Hu wei*, which relates how such a spectre entered the body of its mother, and recounted through her mouth its adventures as a tiger's slave. That legend reads as follows:

"The Buddhist monk Tsing-yuen relates:

"Below the Kin mounts in Hu-chen (Chehkiang pr.) a family "in the village So-and-so had a child, named So-and-so, fifteen or "sixteen years old, whom a tiger devoured. His mother, unable to "bear this grief, fell ill, very ill indeed; but one day towards "nightfall she suddenly sat up, and in the tone of the child's voice "incessantly uttered a series of cries of woe. 'Mother!' she exclaimed "in the end, 'be not so excessively sorry; it was my natural pre-"destination'. 'Who are you?' exclaimed the affrighted father. "'Father, why do not you recognize your child?' was the laughing "answer. 'But where are the proofs that you are my child?' he "asked again. Now the mother behaved as under demonial in-"fluence, and answered: 'I lacked courage to ponder any longer on "my mother's uncessant sorrow about me, and the great So-and-so "having departed, I found time to go home and give her con-"solation. Great So-and-so is the term by which the ch'ang in "general denote the tigers, as they dare not roundly pronounce the "word tiger' [1].

"Now the father entreated the child to give some account of "its past adventures. 'When the first wounds were inflicted on "me', it replied, 'and I felt intolerable pains, then forthwith a

---

後暫出門、忽復遇倀。以皮冒已、遽走入寺、皮及其腰下、遂復成虎。篤志誦經歲餘方變、自爾不敢出寺門、竟至死. *Kwang i ki*; KK, ch. 431.

[1] 淨圓和尙說、湖州金山下一村名某家一兒名某、年十五六、被虎食。其母不忍憂思、成病、病且重、一日將夜忽起坐、作其子聲連連叫痛不已。且曰、吾母、勿過悲傷、此是兒天數也。其父驚問曰、爾爲雖。笑云、父何爲不認兒耶。父曰、既是吾兒何爲憑。其母作祟、答云、不敢但念母思兒不置、適大某他去、得間歸一慰母耳。大某者衆倀稱虎之號、不敢直云虎也。

"second servant appeared'. 'What servant?' interrupted the father. "'Every new ch'ang that arrives is ordered to carry with the "first ch'ang a large net, and then it sets this ch'ang free; "hence, whenever an old ch'ang sees a new one come, it is "overjoyed. The net is very heavy'. 'And what do they do with "it?' the father asked. 'We catch men with it, who are thereafter "eaten. None of those in this country who were devoured, escaped "it; they have all been in the bondage of tigers. When the "tigers set out for another region, we escort them to the frontier, "and on their return we meet to receive them, and then the "ch'ang kwei again enjoy neither rest nor leisure. No coffins "must be used for those who are wounded by a tiger, but they "ought to be burned, for else they desire to carry the coffin with "them, which, added to the net they bear, increases their woe. "The mountaineers forbid to use coffins for them. And now', the "woman concluded, 'So-and-so and So-and-so are here with me, "anxious to see their folk; you will oblige me, father, if you "call them hither'.

"The father took a torch, and went round the whole village; "and the kinsmen of all who had been devoured since the "Kia tsing period, over fifty in number, gave ear to him and "assembled to the spot. The mother spoke in the voice of each of "those victims, and the discourses were accompanied by tears. "They lasted as long as the day itself, the woman not being "restored to her senses ere night had come. But from that very "moment she recovered; no evil consequences befell her, and still "to this day she is living there. This event occurred in the spring "of the year wu-suh of the Wan lih period (A.D. 1598)" [1].

---

[1] 父因問其故。答云、初被傷後痛不可忍、且卽有一重役。父問何役。答云、新倀至令與一倀昇一大網、卽脫一倀矣、凡舊倀見新倀至、喜不勝。其網甚重 父問何爲。答云、用以羅人而食者。且言、此方之人被其食者皆不得解脫、俱受役於彼。彼若他往則送之界上、來則羣而迎之、其來則衆倀亦不寂寞矣。又言、被傷者切不可用棺、焚之、不然旣欲負棺、又欲昇網、甚苦。故山中人亦有禁例不得用棺云。又言、某某某俱

The above tales show that ch'ang kwei are not considered by the Chinese as inhabiting their tigers, but leading an existence apart, merely accompanying them. There is, however, indication in the following tale that they are sometimes deemed to nestle in the monster:

"In the last year of the Khai yuen period (A.D. 741) a tiger "ravened frequently in Yü-chen (in Szĕ-ch'wen pr.). They set out "a trap with a spring, but without surprizing the beast. Once at "new-moon time a man ascended a tree to observe the trap, and "perceived a ch'ang kwei in the shape of a child of seven or "eight years; it was unclothed, moved nimbly, and its whole body "had the colour of jade. It released the spring and passed on; but "our hero descended from the tree, re-adjusted the spring, and "after a while a tiger which was passing was caught by it and "expired. A good while after, the child returned wailing, and "entered into the tiger's mouth. When the day broke, the man "opened this, and saw a piece of jade as large as a fowl's egg in "the throat" [1].

In passing from this subject we have to remind the reader, that the souls of the drowned, who, anxious to liberate themselves from their watery grave, drown others to make their souls take their place, are called likewise ch'ang or ch'ang kwei (see page 528).

### 2. Wolf-demons.

Though, as we have seen on page 182, were-wolves are mentioned in Chinese literature antecedent to the T'ang dynasty, tales about

---

在、俱欲見其家人、父幸呼來。

其父執草燎遍村中人、村中被害者自嘉靖時至今約有五十餘、其家聞之俱來會。則其母各作其人之言、相泣告。如此語一日、夜始甦。此嫗病尋瘉、卒無恙、至今在此。是萬歷戊戌春事也.

[1] 開元末渝州多虎暴。設機穽、恒未得之。月夕人有登樹候望、見一倀鬼如七八歲小兒、無衣、輕行、通身碧色。來發其機、及過、人又下樹正之、須臾一虎徑來、爲陷機所中而死。久之小兒行哭而返、因入虎口。及明開視、有碧石大如雞子在虎喉焉. *Kwang i ki*; KK, ch. 427.

ravening anthropomorphous wolves do not crop up until the reign of that house. Books then refer to them with sufficient frequency to justify the conclusion, that the belief in the existence of such demons in animal guise must have been far from sporadic; and this fact in its turn authorizes us to surmise, that that belief was then already old. A few tales devoted to them have been preserved by the *T'ai-p'ing kwang ki* (ch. 442). Two of these, professedly borrowed from the *Kwang i ki*, deserve our special attention, as the one calls to mind in most distinct forms our own were-wolf superstition referred to on page 549, that wounds inflicted on the beast remain visible when it has returned to the human form, and the other shows, that Chinese lykanthropy, like that in Europe, is a form of insanity, and may be produced by hallucination.

"At the end of the Yung t'ai period of the T'ang dynasty "(A.D. 765) there lived in the Hung-chen department, in a village "of the Ching-p'ing district, an old man, who having been ailing "during several months, for more than ten days refused to take "any food; he then suddenly disappeared in the evening, and "nobody could guess the reason of it. Another evening, a villager "who had gone out to gather mulberry leaves, was pursued "by a he-wolf. He narrowly escaped up a tree, but the tree "was not high enough to prevent the wolf from rearing itself "up against it and fixing its teeth in the tail of his coat. Under "pressure of the danger, the villager hacked at the beast with "his mulberry axe, hitting it exactly in its forehead. The wolf "then crouched down, but remained on the spot so long that "it was broad daylight before our hero could leave the tree. He "followed the track of the wolf, which took him to that old "man's house. He entered the main apartment, called the sons, "and communicated to them the whole affair from beginning to "end; and the sons, on inspecting their father's forehead, dis-"covered on it the trace of a wound inflicted with an axe. "Lest he might attack people again, they throttled him, and saw "him turn into an old wolf. They went to the district magistrate "to justify themselves, who let them go unpunished"[1].

---

[1] 唐永泰末絳州正平縣有村閭老翁、患病數月、後不食十餘日、至夜輒失所在、人莫知其所由。他夕村人有詣田採桑者、爲牡狼所逐。追遽上樹、樹不甚高、狼乃立銜其衣裾。村人危急以

— "In the same year there was in another village of the same "department a lad of some twenty years, who after a disease quite "lost his vital soul (tsing shen), as he sent it away to change "into a wolf. This monster secretly devoured a great number of "the village boys. Those who missed their sons did not guess the "reason, and sought for them in vain.

"As a rule the lad was employed by the villagers for sundry "jobs. One day as he was passing the dwelling of a family "that also were missing a boy, he heard the bereaved father "call him, with the words: 'Come to-morrow to work with us, "and we will prepare a full meal for you'. But he burst into "a loud laugh. 'What sort of man should I be if I went to "your house a second time to work?' he exclaimed, 'do you think "that there was the slightest particular flavour about your son?' "This language surprised the father of the lost boy, and he inter- "rogated him. 'Nature orders me to devour men', he answered, "'and yesterday I ate a boy of five or six years; his flesh was "most delicious'. The father perceived some stale blood in the "corners of his mouth, and rained on him a shower of frantic blows, "which made him turn into a wolf and expire" [1].

A tale of the same epoch intimates, that the Hunnish, Turkish or Mongol tribes living to the north and west of China, then were especially credited with ability to become wolves at pleasure. "Wang

---

桑斧斫之、正中其額。狼頓臥久之始去、村人平曙方得下樹。因尋狼跡至老翁家。入堂中、遂呼其子、說始末、子省父額上斧痕。恐更傷人因扼殺之、成一老狼。詣縣自理、縣不之罪.

[1] 又其年絳州他村有小兒、年二十許、因病後頗失精神、送化爲狼。竊食村中童兒甚衆。失子者不知其故、但追尋無所。

小兒恒爲人傭作。後一日從失兒家過、失兒父呼其名曰、明可來我家作、當爲置一盛饌。因大笑。曰、我是何人更爲君家作也、男兒豈少異味耶。失兒父怪其辭狀、遂詰問。答云、天比使我食人、昨食一小兒年五六歲、其肉至美。失兒視其口吻內有臊血、遂亂毆、化爲狼而死.

"Han of T'ai-yuen was general of Chen-wu (the north of actual "Shensi). His mother, madam Kin, was of Hunnish origin, excelling "in the use of the bow and in horsemanship, and notorious for "her ruthless energy. Riding a strong horse, a bow at her arm, "and arrows at her waist, she penetrated into the depth of the "mountains in search of bears, stags, foxes and hares, which she "killed and took with her in very great numbers. No wonder that "her power was feared throughout the north, and that a general "interest was taken in her.

"But when she had passed her seventieth year, she began to "labour under the infirmities of old age. She then retired into a "room, sent away her private slave-women, and did not allow her "attendants to approach her unexpectedly. Sometimes, when she "had barred the door at sunset and lay down to sleep, she had "fits of fury, and soundly caned the inmates of the house. One "night she had barred her door as usual, when suddenly they "heard a rasping, creaking sound. They rushed out to see what "was the matter, and saw a wolf open the door from the inside "and leave the room. Before daybreak the brute came back, entered "the room, and barred the door.

"The inmates were greatly affrighted, and at dawn they reported "the matter to Wang Han. That same evening he watched her "through a crevice, and thus saw that they had told him the truth. "It filled him with dismay and horror, and he felt very uncom-"fortable. At daybreak his mother called him, to tell him to buy "a roe for her immediately. He cooked the animal and took it to "her, but she said: 'I want it raw'. A raw roe was then placed "before her, which she devoured in a moment, thus increasing "Wang Han's fright. Some of the family spoke of the matter in "private; she heard it, and appeared very ashamed; and that same "evening, after she had locked the door, and while the servants "stood watching what she would do, a wolf burst out of the door, "never to return"[1].

---

[1] 太原王含者爲振武軍都將。其母金氏本胡人女、善弓馬素、以獷悍聞。常馳健馬、臂弓、腰矢、入深山取熊鹿狐兎、殺獲甚多。故北人皆憚其能而雅重之。

後年七十餘以老病。遂獨止一室、辟侍婢、不

Since the T'ang dynasty, the belief in ravenous were-wolves has, no doubt, never languished in China. In the fourteenth century it certainly held sway also over cultivated minds, whereas we find it reported in all good faith in the Standard Annals of he Yuen dynasty, that "in the tenth year of the Chi ching period (A.D. "1350) the Chang-teh region (in the north of Honan) suffered "much from wolves that broke into the dwellings at night in "human disguise, and with howls made for the men, from whose "arms they snatched babies, in order to devour them" [1]. Almost three hundred years later it was recorded in the local Memoirs concerning the Khüh-wuh district, in the southern part of Shansi, that the following episode had occurred within its confines:

"In the years of the Ch'ung ching period (A.D. 1628—1644) "of the Ming dynasty so terrible a famine prevailed, that the "people devoured each other. Then there lived in the hamlet of "Kih-pih, situated twenty miles east of the chief city of the "district, a herdsman, named Ts'ang, whose surname has not been "rescued from oblivion. Every morning he went out, and returned "not before it was quite dark. His wife asked him whence he "got food during that time, and he answered that he devoured "men. 'Is it lawful to do so?' she asked. 'To-morrow', he replied, "'at noon, I will devour you'; and on her asking him why, he "said: 'Some time ago I passed a temple of a local tutelary divinity

---

許左右輒近。至夜卽扃戶而寢、往往發怒過杖其家人輩。後一夕旣扃其戶、家人忽聞軋然之聲。遂趨而視之、望見一狼自室內開戶而出。天未曉而其狼自外還、入室、又扃其門。

家人甚懼、旦白王舍。是夕于隙中潛窺、如家人言。舍憂悸不自安。至曉金氏召舍、且令卽市麋鹿。舍熟以獻、金氏曰、吾所須生者耳。於是以生麋鹿致于前、金氏啖立盡、舍益懼。家人輩或竊語其事、金氏聞之、色甚慙、是夕旣扃門、家人又伺而覘之、有狼遂破戶而出、自是竟不還. *Süen-shih chi*; K K, ch. 442.

[1] 至正十年彰德境內狼狽爲害、夜如人形入人家、哭就人、懷抱中取小兒食之. Ch. 51, l. 17.

"and saw there a wolf-skin; I placed myself upon it, and suddenly "profound sleep overcame me. When I awoke, I was a wolf, and "not conscious of the change went out and devoured a man. In "the evening I returned to the temple, and the skin dropping off, "I re-assumed the human form, but likewise without being aware "of the metamorphosis. In a bewildered state of mind and uncon- "sciously I did the same thing every day, and to-morrow at noon it "is your turn to be eaten. I fear you cannot escape that fate, "nevertheless I am unwilling to attack you. Therefore make a straw "image of yourself to-morrow, and stuff it with the intestines of "a pig, then, I assure you, nothing bad will befall you'. Thus "he spoke, and departed.

"The wife was so frightened, that she ran to the women in the "neighbourhood to tell them. They wavered between belief and "doubt, but her brother advised her to do what she had been told, "and she obeyed him, to safeguard herself against eventualities. "When the next day had come, she bolted the window and "peeped through it at her husband's movements, and no sooner "was the sun at its height than a wolf bounded over the wall into "the premises. Several times he flung himself head foremost against "the window, but finding it impossible to enter through it, he fell "back upon the straw woman, seized and devoured it. This done, "he jumped over the wall again and left the place. On the loud "cries of the woman the neighbours flocked together to the spot, "and the bolder among them pursued the beast, our heroine in "the rear. In this way they came to the temple, just in time to "see the wolf crouched on the ground. From the hands of his wife "he received a severe thrashing; his tail was severed from his body, "but the brute made his escape. Never did he come to the house "again. Whenever after that the villagers saw a bobtail wolf, they "called out his name, which made him shake his head and go the "other way, without looking at them [1] and without devouring "them. To this day old people still talk about that wolf" [2].

---

1 Compare what is stated on page 165 on the same trait of European lykanthropy.

2 明崇禎間歲大饑、人相食。縣東二十里吉璧莊牧豎名蒼、蒼者姓失。每夙出、暮還。其妻問曰、而夙出暮還顧安所得食乎、曰、食人。妻曰、人可食與。曰、明午且食汝、妻驚問故、曰、前過土地祠見狼皮一偶、恣其上、忽寢熟。既寤變狼、

The attacks of were-wolves upon men are by no means always represented in China as sudden and impetuous, artless and clumsy. Isegrim, not to risk his skin and tail too much, sometimes assumes the shape of an innocent, charming maid, and in this disguise demurely enters into human society, to await patiently the right moment for devouring unsuspecting victims. "The wolf", says a work which existed in the seventh century, "when a hundred "years old, changes into a woman, called woman of knowledge. "She looks like a beauty, and seated by the roadside, accosts male "persons with these words: 'no parents have I, no brothers; "sir, take me to your house and make me your wife'; and "she devours men in the third year. If her name is called out, "she runs away" [1]. This trait links the wolf to the fox, his congener, who, as we have seen already on pp. 188 *sqq.* and shall see more clearly from the fourth section of this chapter, holds in China the position of deceitful were-spectre *par excellence*, though without devouring the victims of his treachery.

It must, however, be admitted that the occurrence of the wolf in this character is not sufficiently frequent in Chinese folk-lore

---

不知其爲狼也、出而食人。傍晚至祠、皮蛻復人、我亦不知其爲人也。泯泯昏昏日復如是、明午且食汝。恐汝不免、雖然吾弗忍。詰朝可束芻爲汝狀、納豕肚其內、汝必無祟。言畢逕去。

妻驚甚、走告鄰媼。且信且否、弟曰、汝試爲之、其妻如其言爲備。越明日鍵牖以覘動靜、日亭午果有一狼躍牆入。頻以頭觸牖、弗得入、轉搏束芻、攫食。既畢復躍牆出。其妻大呼鄰衆、鄰衆沓至、內有壯者尾其後、妻亦隨之。至祠見狼方伏地。妻猛撲、尾絕、跋扈載奔。自是不復歸舍。鄉人後見狼無尾者卽呼其名、掉頭去、不顧、亦不噬。迄今父老猶能道之. *Khüh-wuh hien chi* 曲沃縣志; TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 70.

[1] 百歲狼化爲女人、名曰知女。狀如美女、坐道旁告丈夫曰、我無父母兄弟、丈夫取爲妻、三年而食人。以其名呼之則逃去. *Poh tseh tu*; TS, sect. 神異, ch. 315.

to allow us to infer, that he has ever been generally regarded in the Far East as an artful *diable à quatre*. Only one tale in which he appears in this rôle we can set before our readers. "Under the "T'ang dynasty, a Governor of Ki-cheu (in the present Pehchihli) "had a son, whose family-name and personal name I have for- "gotten. Being sent by his father to the Metropolis to solicit "another post, he saw, ere yet he had crossed the frontier, the "house of a notable man, crowded with visitors and followers. "They had with them a girl of a countenance and form so charming, "that our hero took a fancy to her and asked her in marriage. "This called forth a general commotion in the house. 'Who "are you', angrily exclaimed an old slave woman, 'who sur- "prises us with such foolish nonsense?' she is a daughter of our "Governor Lu of Yiu-cheu; this our lord will soon return to "the Metropolis; and you are not even so much as a petty "official in a department or a district; why shall we question "this buffoon any further?' But he answered them that his "father held office in Ki-cheu, and that he would ask him for his "consent. This answer much surprised them, and their consent was "gradually obtained; they lived together as man and wife for some "days, and then the young couple were received on the road by "the bridegroom's family, and conducted home.

"Too fond were the Governor and his consort of their son to "importune him with questions; besides, the answers which the bride "gave them were so rational as to arouse scarce any suspicion, "and so many men and horses had come with her, that everybody "in the house was elated. But after some thirty days had passed, "it happened one evening that the horses of the newly married "lady began to stampede. Slaves and others were repeatedly sent "to see what was the matter, but she shut the door on them, "and when at dawn the Governor's men came to the son's room, "they found there none of her male or female slaves; and no "horses were to be seen in the stable. Filled with suspicion, they "reported all this to the Governor. This grandee went with his "wife to the room and called the son, but he gave no answer. "They ordered the window-shutters to be broken, when through the "opening thus made a large hoary wolf rushed out upon the men, "and ran away. Their son they found almost entirely eaten up"[1].

[1] 唐莫州刺史子傅者、忘其姓名。初其父令之京求改任、子往、未出境、見貴人家、賓從衆盛。中

### 3. Dog-demons.

As dogs do not devour men, they do not occur in China in the character of bloodthirsty demons. We have seen a dog-shaped devil represented by the Books of the Han Dynasty as employed by a human soul as its instrument of revenge to cause the death of an empress in the second century before our era (see p. 437). Almost exclusively, however, dogs appear, on a par with the fox, as spectral harbingers or bringers of evil, as crafty impostors, and abusers of women. A few tales may depict them in this rôle.

"Under the Sung dynasty, Wang Chung-wen was receiver in Honan, "dwelling to the north of the city of the Keu-shi district. After his "retirement from service, he was out for an airing in the evening "between the lakes, and saw a white dog following behind his carriage. "He took a fancy to it and would catch it, but on a sudden it "transformed itself into a man resembling a Rescuer of the Country "(Book I, pp. 161 *sqq.*). Red as fire were its eyes; its tusks were "whetted, and its tongue hung out of its mouth; indeed, a very "horrid apparition it was. Chung-wen and his slave, greatly scared, "attacked it, but they could not master it, and fled. Before they "reached their house, they fell to the ground and died" [1].

---

有一女、容色美麗、子悅而問之。其家甚愕。老婢怒云、汝是何人輒此狂妄、我幽州盧長史家娘子、夫主近亡還京、君非州縣之吏、何詰問頓劇。子乃稱父見任冀州、欲求允好。初甚驚駭、稍稍相許、後數日野合、中路却還。

刺史夫妻深念其子、不復詰問、然新婦對答有理、殊不疑之、其來人馬且衆、舉家莫不忻悅。經三十餘日一夕新婦馬相踢。連使婢等往視、遂自拒戶、及曉刺史家人至子房所、不見奴婢、至櫪中又不見馬。心頗疑之、遂白刺史。刺史夫妻遂至房前呼子、不應。令人壞窓門開之、有大白狼衝人走去。其子遇食略盡矣. *Kwang i ki*; K K, ch.442.

[1] 宋王仲文爲河南郡主簿、居緱氏縣北。得休、因晚行澤中見車後有白狗。仲文甚愛之、欲取之、忽變形如人狀、似方相。目赤如火、磋牙、吐

A similar ill-boding or evil-producing demon was "the house-dog "of the official Ts'ai Ch'ao, which visited him in the guise of a "spectre. Squatted in the hall and using clapping-boards for beating "measure, it chanted songs in a piteous tone of voice, and one "morning he sought in vain for his kerchief, which the dog had "put on, sitting in this attire upon the stove. In that same month "Ch'ao met with a violent death" [1].

With the same devilish deliberation for which the wolf is notorious, dogs wickedly assume human shape, with the purpose of gratifying their sexual lusts on modest maids and wives. "In Poh-"p'ing one T'ien Yen was in mourning for his mother, and regularly "lived in the mourning-shed; but one day about nightfall he "entered his wife's private room. She received him with silent "astonishment. 'Sir', she said, 'may you visit me in this place of "abstinence?' but he did not listen to this remark, and nature "had free course [2]. Afterwards (the real) Yen entered for a moment, "but he did not speak one word to his wife, and she, astonished "at his silence, reprimanded him for what he had done the other "day. This taught the husband that there must have been demonry "in play. The evening came; he was not yet asleep, and his mourning-"clothes hung in the shed, when suddenly he saw a white dog "scratch at the shed. Taking the mourning-clothes between its jaws, "the beast changed into a man, put on the clothes, and entered "(the female apartment); Yen hurried after him, and found the dog "ready to get into his wife's bed. He beat him to death, and his "wife died for shame" [3].

---

舌、甚可憎惡。仲文大怖、與奴共擊之、不勝而走。未到家伏地俱死. *Shen shen heu ki*, ch. 7.

[1] 吏人蔡超家狗作怪。蹲於堂上、將拍板唱歌、聲悲怨、又一旦覓頭巾不見、戴在竈上坐。其月超遇害. The *Chi kwai luh* of Luh Hiun (see p. 252).

2 Sexual intercourse is forbidden in time of mourning: Book I, pp. 608 *sqq.*

[3] 北平田琰居母喪恆處廬、向一暮夜忽入婦室。密怪之。曰、君在毀滅之地幸可不爾、琰不聽而合。後琰暫入、不與婦語、婦怪無言、并以前事責之。琰知鬼魅、臨暮竟未眠、衰服掛廬、須臾見一白狗攙廬。衔衰服因變爲人、著而入。

— "In the Hung chi period (A.D. 1488—1506) there lived in "the district of Yü-t'ai, which forms a part of the Yen region "(in Shantung), a family of commoners, keeping a well-trained "white dog, which always followed its master abroad. So also it "once accompanied him when he set out to a far region for trading "purposes. But unexpectedly it returned after thirteen days, in the "shape of its master. The wife asked him what he came back for, "and he told her he had fallen in with highwaymen, who had "relieved him of everything he had with him, but fortunately he "had escaped with his life. The woman did not doubt the veracity "of his words. A year later the real husband came home. The "two men resembled one another perfectly in shape, and while "they were quarrelling about the question who was the true hus-"band and who the false one, the wife and the neighbours informed "the magistrate, who ordered them to be put in jail. A policeman "then related the matter to his wife. 'The one that came home "first', she said, 'is the spirit of the dog, and this can be proved "by discovering whether the breast of the woman bears marks of "its paws'. The policeman told this the magistrate; this summoned "the woman before him, and on her asking wherefore she was called, "he stript her, thus discovering that there were indeed prints of "paws on her breast. He then gave secret orders to suppress (that "demonry) by means of blood, and the pseudo husband changed "into a dog, which they instantly beat to death" [1].

There are also early instances on record of house-dogs which

---

琰隨後逐之、見犬將升婦牀。便打殺之、婦羞愧而死. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 18.

[1] 弘治中兗之魚臺縣有民家、畜一白犬、甚馴、其主出、犬常隨之。他日主商於遠方、犬亦隨之。經旬三日犬化爲主輒歸。妻問其故、曰途中遇盜、財物俱盡、幸逃得性命耳。妻信不疑。閱歲其眞夫歸。形狀悉同、各爭眞僞、妻及鄰里白於官、命置之獄中。忽一小卒語於妻。妻曰、先歸者犬精也、視婦胸間有爪紋則辨矣。卒以白官、召婦、問其故、裸而視其胸間有爪紋。密使以血厭之、僞夫化犬、立撲殺之. *Wei yuen* 彙苑, a work as yet unknown to me, quoted in TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 118.

with astounding impudence have assumed the shape of dead men, with the object of devouring the food and drink devoutly sacrificed to their shades. Thus, according to a book of the second century of our era, "the corpse of the minister of works Lai Ki-teh, "a native of Nan-yang, was still unburied in his house, when sud- "denly he sat down upon the sacrificial table. His countenance, "clothes and voice were thoroughly his own. He told his grand- "sons, sons, wife and daughters to serve him in turn, and he "whipped the slaves of both sexes, all of whom he found to "blame. And when he had satiated himself with food and drunk "his fill, he took his leave and went away. The family thus "were in a great sorrow, and as this event was repeated three "or four times, they felt more and more depressed and miserable. "But then it happened that he drank (of the sacrificial spirits) "till he was tipsy; his (human) shape collapsed, and — they "found nothing but an old dog. They beat this to death, and "on making inquiry, discovered it was the house-dog of the liquor- "vendor of the village" [1].

We must not dismiss the dog in its character of demon without saying a few words about the so-called t'ien keu [2] or "heavenly dog", a mysterious devil, mentioned frequently enough in books to convince us that it has fascinated superstition for a long series of centuries. It appears as early as the sixth century in the Standard Histories: "in the thirteenth year of the T'ien kien "period (A.D. 514), in the sixth month, there were stories abroad "in the Capital (the present Nanking) that ch'eng-ch'eng (?) "stole the livers of men, as also their blood, to feed the celestial "dog therewith. The people were in great consternation for twenty "days [3]. And in the fifth year of the Ta t'ung period (A.D. 539)

---

[1] 司空南陽來季德停喪在殯、忽然坐祭床上。顏色服飾聲氣熟是也。孫兒婦女以次教誡事有條貫、鞭撻奴婢、皆得其過。飲食飽滿、辭訣而去。家人大哀、如是三四、家益厭苦。其後飲醉、形壞、但得老狗。便扑殺之、推問里頭沽酒家狗. *Fung-suh t'ung i*, ch. 9.

[2] 天狗.

[3] 天監十三年夏六月都下訛言有懊儂取人肝

"the story was circulated in the Capital that the Son of Heaven took "livers out of men for food for the celestial dog. Old and young "thus affrighted each other so much, that after sunset they shut "their doors and armed themselves with clubs; this panic ceased "after several months" [1].

The origin of the belief in that bloodthirsty anthropophagous monster we are not able to trace. Evidently, as its name indicates, it is related to the sky. We read indeed that in the second year of the Hwang kien period (A.D. 561) a celestial dog came down, and ceremonies were performed to counteract the ill resulting therefrom, on which occasion the emperor fell from his horse which was scared by a hare, and expired soon after [2]. Looking into Chinese uranographical works, we find mention made of a luminary, called the heavenly dog, placed somewhere about Cancer. Sze-ma Ts'ien has the following notice concerning it: "It has the shape of a "large moving star, and produces a noise. When it descends and "reaches the earth, it resembles a dog. Whatever it falls upon "becomes a flaming fire; it looks like a fiery light, like flames "flaring up to heaven. Its base is round and covers a field of "several acres; its upper part is pointed and spreads a yellow "colour over a thousand miles; it may defeat armies and kill "the commanders" [3]. Evidently the great historian here describes an enormous dog-shaped meteor, which some time had come down somewhere and was confounded with a comet in the sky. Perhaps it is to this same thing that the *Shan-hai king* refers, which states: "Midway in the large plain or desert there is a red dog, called the "celestial dog. Wherever it descends, armed violence will prevail" [4].

---

肺及血、以飴天狗。百姓大懼、二旬而止. History of the South, ch. 6, l. 27.

[1] 大同五年都下訛言天子取人肝以飴天狗。大小相驚、日晚便閉門持仗、數月乃止. Op. cit., ch. 7, l. 10.

2 History of the North, ch. 7, l. 30; and Books of the Northern Ts'i Dynasty, ch. 6, l. 7.

[3] 天狗狀如大奔星、有聲。其下止地類狗。所墮及炎火、望之如火光、炎炎衝天。其下圜、如數頃田處、上兌者則有黃色千里、破軍殺將. Historical Records, ch. 27, l. 31. See also the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 26, l. 16.

[4] 大荒之中有赤犬、名曰天犬。其所下者有兵. Ch. 16, 大荒西經.

There is, however, nothing in these extracts which accounts for the investment of the ominous comet with attributes of a devil craving for human blood and livers. We further learn that it has announced its advent by a thundering noise: "In the second "year of the Chung hwo period (A.D. 882), in the tenth month, "thunder resounded in the north-west in a cloudless sky, and this "was called a descent of the celestial dog [1]. And in the third year "of the T'ung kwang period (A.D. 925), in the ninth month, "on the day ting-wei, when dark clouds covered the sky every-"where at night, a noise as of thunder was heard in the north, "and the wild pheasants screamed. This was what people call a "descent of the celestial dog" [2].

Probably the heavenly dog lives everywhere in China in imagination as a dreadful demon. According to some of my Japanese friends, this is also the case in their country. In many Chinese almanacks we find that dog mentioned as a demon prowling (遊) in different points of the compass according to the seasons, the solstices and the equinoxes, the knowledge of which fact is highly useful to all who then have any business in those directions, and wish to avoid its pernicious influences. The monster thus plays a significant part in Chinese Chronomancy, and we shall therefore again have to give our attention to it when, in another Book, we treat of that important branch of the Taoist system.

### 4. Fox-demons.

Already in ancient China the fox was in bad repute as portending or causing evil, for we read in the *Shi king*: "Nothing here is "red but evil foxes, nothing black but evil crows" [3]. Chu Hi comments upon this verse in these words: "The fox was an ill-boding "animal which men disliked to see. The fact that there was

---

[1] 中和二年十月西北方無雲而雷、名天狗墜. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 19, II, f. 25.

[2] 同光三年九月丁未夕徧天陰雲、北方有聲如雷、野雉皆鳴。俗所謂天狗落. Old History of the five Dynasties, ch. 33, f. 5.

[3] 莫赤匪狐、莫黑匪烏. Section 邶風, ode 16.

"nothing to see there except those animals, proved that the king-
"dom was about to be imperilled and thrown into confusion"[1].

In the third century before our era it was Chwang-tszĕ who gave evidence of the prevalence of the belief in ill-boding foxes. "In a hillock of not more than a pu or a jen in size", he wrote, "no large beasts conceal themselves, but evil foxes there give "their omens"[2]. And that the fox was associated with evil spirits under the Han dynasty, we may infer from these two lines, which Hwang Hien[3], who lived in the second century of our era, inserted in a literary composition which he devoted to the fox:

"Its prints wind over the regions inhabited by ch'i-mei,
"And are traceable in the wilds where wang-liang abide"[4].

But by what did Reynard show his dangerous character? This is revealed to us somewhat later by Chinese writers. The Standard Histories of the third and the fourth centuries of our era frequently refer to him as the cause of insanity, disease, and even of death. We read *e. g.* in the biography of Han Yiu[5], a famous diviner who died in A.D. 312:

"The daughter of Liu Shi-tseh had been visited with disease "by a demon for quite a number of years. Wu's had fought, "invoked and attacked it, and captured in empty graves as "well as in the old city-walls several dozen foxes and lizards; "but still the patient recovered not. Then Han Yiu consulted "the divining-stalks on this matter, and ordered a linen bag to be "made, which, when the woman had an attack, he hung out at the "window. He then closed the door and blew from his mouth as if "he drove out something, and shortly after, the bag was seen to "swell as if blown up; but the air made it burst, and the woman "had another violent attack. Now Yiu made two bags of leather, "which he hung out together in the same way as the other bag; "again they swelled up to their full volume. Quickly he tied up

---

1 狐不祥之物、人所惡見者也.所見無非此物、則國將危亂可知.

2 步仞之邱陵巨獸無所隱其軀、而擘狐爲之祥. *Nan hwa chen king*, VIII, § 23.

3 黃憲.

4 足蟠乎魑魅之域、跡內乎魍魎之墟.

5 韓友.

"their opening with a rope, and suspended them from a tree, where "they began to shrink gradually for some twenty and odd days. "On being opened they were found to contain two pounds of fox-"hair. The woman recovered"[1].

And of another magician and diviner, named Ku Hwan[2], who died A.D. 493, history relates: "In the village of Poh-shih on the "north of the mountains, much disease was caused by demonry. "The villagers informed Ku Hwan of this, and implored his com-"passion. He repaired to the village, delivered a sermon about "Lao-tszĕ (?), and traced a prison on the ground. Instantly foxes "appeared, and turtles and lizards, which entered the prison of "their own accord in great numbers. He ordered them to be "killed, and all the patients recovered"[3].

Much light is shed upon the Chinese ideas respecting the fox as author of disease by tales such as the following, which represents him as entering into men so as to change them into raving lunatics. "In the seventh year of the T'ai hwo period (A.D. 483) there "lived in the Buddhist monastery of the Blue Dragon in Shang-tu "a monk, named Khi-tsung, whose lay family dwelt in Fan-chw'en. "His elder brother Fan-king fell ill of a burning fever, which made "him utter insane talk, and laugh stupidly. The monk kept "him in restraint with all the vigour his soul could muster, and "tried to exorcise the disease by burning incense, when suddenly "the patient began to revile and scold. 'You monk', he cried, "'get back to your monastery and your abbot; why do you

---

[1] 劉世則女病魅積年。巫爲攻禱伐、空冢故城間得狸囊數十、病猶不差。友慈之、命作布囊、依女發時張囊著牖牖間。友閉戶、作氣若有所驅、斯須之間見囊大脹如吹、因決敗之、女仍大發。友乃更作皮囊二枚、皆張之施張如前、囊復脹滿。因急縛囊口、懸著樹、二十許日漸消。開視有二斤狐毛。女遂差. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 95, l. 10.

[2] 頠歡.

[3] 山陰白石村多邪病。村人告訴求哀。歡往村中、爲講老子、規地作獄。有頃見狐狸黿鼈自入獄中者甚多。卽命殺之、病者皆愈. History of the South, ch. 75, l. 18.

"thwart my business? I am dwelling in Nan-ko, and I am in "love with you; but the grain grows thick and the harvesters are "abroad so numerously that I can come to you for a short time only'. "These words made the monk suspect that he was possessed by a "fox-demon. Again he held the (exorcising) peach tree branch over "his brother and beat him with it, but the patient merely laughed "and said: 'you beat your elder brother: this is against the rules "of submissiveness; the gods will kill you for it; beat harder; go "on'. Khi-tsung now conceived that there was no help in this "way, and abandoned the task.

"Thereupon the patient rose impetuously. He dragged his mother "about with so much violence that evil (death) smote her; in "the same manner he treated his wife, who perished likewise, "and then he maltreated his younger brother; and when his "wife came home, she (so suffered at his hands that she) lost her "eyesight. When the day had passed, the patient was quite in his "old condition. 'As you do not go', he said to Khi-tsung, 'I shall "convoke my family'. No sooner had he spoken these words than "the squeaking of several hundreds of rats was heard; they were "bigger than ordinary rats, showed a bold front, and could not "be expelled. They disappeared indeed on the next day[1], but had "greatly increased Khi-tsung's fears[2].

---

1 This appearance of rats during a temporary abatement of the delirium of our madman, that is, according to the Chinese idea, while the fox, the author of the illness, was absent for the time being, is no doubt an allusion to the circumstance that the fox is a great destroyer of rats, so that these animals only venture to swarm out when it has gone. At the same time we have here a reference to the supremacy of the fox over rats and mice, enabling it to call upon those creatures when it wants their help, as in this case against the monk.

2 太和七年上都青龍寺僧契宗、俗家在樊川。其兄樊竟因病熱乃狂言虛笑。契宗精神總持、遂焚香勅勒、兄忽詬罵。曰、汝是僧第、歸寺住持、何橫干事。我止居在南柯、愛汝、苗碩多穫、故暫來耳。契宗疑其狐魅。復禁桃枝擊之、其兄但笑曰、汝打兄不順、神當殛汝、可加力、勿止。契宗知其無柰何、乃已。

病者猝起。牽其母、母遂中惡、援其妻、妻亦卒、迺摹其弟、婦回、面失明。經日悉復舊。乃語契宗曰、爾不去當喚我眷屬來。言已有鼠數百穀

"'Spare your voice and breath', his brother now exclaimed;
"'I do not fear you, for my great brother himself now comes.
"Cool moon, Cool moon, come here!' cried he with a prolonged
"scream, and at the third summons there sprang a beast from the
"feet of the patient, a beast of the size of a fox and as red as
"fire. Moving over the coverlet, it crouched upon his belly; light
"sparkled from its eyes all around, but Khi-tsung seized his sword
"and aimed a blow at it, which struck one of its paws. It then
"ran out of the door, but the monk followed the bloody print by
"the light of a torch, and thus came to a house, where he saw
"the beast take shelter in an earthen jar. Taking a large dish, he
"placed it over the mouth of the jar, and closed the crevice with
"clay; and opening it after three days, he saw that the beast had
"become as (stiff as) iron and could not move. Khi-tsung killed it
"by frying it in oil, during which operation the stench extended
"for several miles. His brother then recovered, but one month later
"a family in that village lost by death its father with six or seven
"sons, and everybody opined that this was caused by pot-vermin
"sorcery which had been set up" [1].

Apart from its functions as author of disease and delirium, odium attached to the fox in those times as a harbinger of disaster in general; which quality in the homes of ignorant simplicity meant much the same thing as to be the *causation* thereof. In a biography of the renowned diviner Shun-yü Chi [2], murdered in A.D. 396, we read: "Hia-heu Tsao of the Ts'iao region had a

---

穀作聲、大於常鼠、與人相觸、驅逐不去。及明失所在、契宗恐怖加切。

[1] 其兄又曰、愼爾聲氣、吾不懼爾、今須我大兄弟自來。因長呼曰、寒月、寒月、可來此、至三呼有物大如狸、赤如火、從病者脚走。緣衾止於腹上、目光四射、契宗持刀就擊之、中物一足。遂跳出戶、燭其血蹤至一房、見其物潛走甕中。契宗舉巨盆覆之、泥固其隙、經三日發、視其物如鐵、不得動。因以油煎殺之、臭達數里。其兄遂愈、月餘村有一家父子六七人暴卒、衆意其與蠱. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, supplement, ch. 2.

[2] 淳于智.

"mother, who was very ill. Therefore he went to Shun-yü Chi, in "order to consult the oracle about her; but just then a fox at "his door set up a howling against him. Much terrified he hastened "to Chi, who said: 'the misfortune which this case portends is "very imminent; hurry home, and howl and wail with your hands on "your breast on the very spot where the fox did so, so that all your "family, old and young, rush out in fright and amazement; go on "howling as long as there is one person in-doors, and they will be saved "from that misfortune'. Tsao went home and followed the advice. "His mother too, in spite of her illness, rushed out, and no sooner "were the members of the family gathered in the main apartment "than five side-rooms of the house fell in with a thundering noise" [1].

The superstitious fear of foxes, entertained in those ages, was shared by emperors and courtiers. "In the second year of the "Ching ming period (A.D. 588)", we read in the chronicles of the reign of Heu-chu of the Ch'en dynasty, "this sovereign "dreamed that a fox crept under his couch, and on being seized "became invisible. The emperor, considering that this apparition "would cause evil, in order to avert the same sold himself as a "slave to a Buddhist monastery, and built a seven-storied pagoda "in the great imperial Buddhist monastery within the city-walls. "But ere this was finished, a conflagration burst out within it, and "devoured everything down to the stones with such rapidity that "a very great number of people perished in the flames" [3].

---

[1] 譙人夏侯藻母病困。詣智卜、忽有一狐當門向之嗥。藻怖愕馳見智、知曰、其禍甚急、君速歸、在狐嗥處拊心啼哭、令家人驚怪、大小必出、一人勿出哭勿止、然後其禍可救也。藻還、如其言。母亦扶病而出、家人既集堂、屋五間拉然而崩. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 95, l. 12.

2 Selling themselves as slaves to the Buddhist clergy as a token of the utmost devotion to Buddha and his Church, was no uncommon practice for Sons of Heaven in those halcyon days of Shakya's religion. As they had themselves forthwith redeemed with large sums drawn from their treasury, the deed virtually became a rich donation bestowed on the Sangha; which doubled its merit.

[3] 禎明二年後主夢有狐入其牀下、捕之不見。以爲祆、乃自賣於佛寺爲奴、以禳之、於郭內大皇佛寺起七層塔。未畢火從中起、飛至石頭、燒死者甚衆. History of the South, ch. 10, ll. 12—13.

Dangerous demonish propensities were especially attributed after the Han dynasty to foxes under human disguise, contributing a class of were-beasts with which we have acquainted our readers on pp. 188 *sqq.*, promising to dwell upon them again here. They play their part in Chinese demonism mostly under the names of hu mei[1], hu tsing[2], or hu kwai[3]: "fox-spectres" or "apparitions of foxes". Tales about them occur in the literature of the Han dynasty. In the Histories of that epoch we read concerning Fei Ch'ang-fang[4], one of the greatest magicians that ever trod the Chinese soil, who ruled demons and ghosts at pleasure: "While out for a "stroll with a companion, he saw a student wearing a yellow ker- "chief and a fur coat, alight from an unsaddled horse and salute "him by knocking his head against the ground. 'If you restore this "horse to him', said Fei Ch'ang-fang, 'I will exempt you from the "penalty of death'. On his companion asking him what these words "meant, he replied: 'he is a fox, and has stolen the horse from "a local tutelary spirit'"[5].

In subsequent centuries, legends of fox-demons in human shape must have been current in great numbers, if we may conclude so from the fact that so very many have been preserved in writing to this day. They show that in all times the dangerousness of those beings was deemed to consist in the first place in that, like spectres of all classes, they caused disease and madness, sometimes acting in a spirit of revenge, but mostly from mere unprovoked malignity. Besides increasing our knowledge of Chinese demonism, the tales which place the were-fox before us in the character of a demon of illness, acquaint us with interesting notions on pathology and medical art. When Khü-tsih, the prince of the house of Han, who, as we saw on pages 289 and 397 of Book I, gratified his curiosity, and probably his rapacity also, by ransacking ancient graves, opened that of one Lwan-shu[6], "the coffin and "the utensils for the use of the shade had been destroyed or had "rotted away, to such an extent that nothing remained. There was

[1] 狐魅. [2] 狐精. [3] 狐怪. [4] 費長房.

[5] 長房曾與人共行、見一書生、黃巾被裘、無鞍騎馬、下而叩頭。長房曰、還宅馬赦汝死罪。人問其故、長房曰、此狸也、盜社公馬耳. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 112 II, f. 14.

[6] 欒書.

"a hoar fox in the grave, which, affrighted at seeing men, fled. "The prince's attendants pursued it, but they could not catch it, "and only wounded its left paw with a javelin. Next night the "prince dreamt that a man came to him with beard and eyebrows "entirely white, and with the words: 'wherefore did you wound "my left leg?' touched his left foot with his staff. On this the "prince awoke with a swollen leg, and immediately an ulcer appeared "thereon, which remained incurable till his death" [1].

The book, in which this tale occurs for the first time, is stated to have been written in the fourth century, but this fact does not, of course, exclude the possibility of the tale having become current at the date at which its author placed it. In ensuing centuries, were-foxes continue to appear in myth as beings smiting men and children with illness. Not to spin out this subject to an extravagant length, we will here pass on immediately to the T'ang dynasty, and translate an amusing legend of that time, which sheds some stronger light on the character of the fox as an agent of disease, and at the same time places him before us in the capacity of unparalleled impostor.

"In the Ching yuen period of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 785— "805), Mr. P'ei of Kiang-ling (in the south of Hupeh pr.), a sub- "intendant of the palace, whose personal name is lost, had a son "over ten years of age, very clever and intelligent, studious, "brisk, and accomplished both in manners and appearance, whom "he therefore deeply loved. This boy was attacked by a disease, "which grew worse and worse for ten days. Medicines took "no effect, and P'ei was on the point of fetching a doctor of "Taoist arts who might reprimand and thwart (the demon of the "disease), in the hope of effecting a cure, when a man knocked "at his door, announcing himself as one of the surname Kao, "whose profession was to work with charms. P'ei forthwith invited "him to walk in and look at his son. 'This boy suffers only from "a sickness which is caused by a demonish fox', said the doctor; 'I "possess an art of curing this'. The father thanked him and im-

---

[1] 棺柩明器悉毀爛無餘。惟有白狐、見人驚走。左右逐之不得、戟傷其左足。是夕王夢一丈夫、鬚眉盡白、來謂王曰、何故傷吾左足、乃以杖叩王左足。王覺、腫痛卽生瘡、至死不差. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 15. This legend also occurs in the *Si-king tsah ki*, ch. 6.

"plored his help; the other set to work to interrogate and call "(the demon) by means of his charms, and in the next moment "the boy suddenly rose with the words: 'I am cured'. The delighted "father called Kao a real and true master of arts, and having "regaled him with food and drink, paid him a liberal reward in "money and silk, and thankfully saw him off at the door. The "doctor departed with the words: 'henceforth I will call every day'.

"But though the boy was cured of that disease, still he lacked "a sufficient quantity of soul (s h e n-h w u n), wherefore he uttered "every now and then insane talk, and had fits of laughter and "wailing, which they could not suppress. At each call of Kao, "P'ei requested him to attend to this matter too, but the other "said: 'This boy's vital spirits are kept bound by a spectre, and "are as yet not restored to him; but in less than ten days he "will become quite calm; there is, I am happy to say, no reason "to feel concerned about him'. And P'ei believed it.

"A few days later, a doctor bearing the surname Wang called "on P'ei, announcing himself as an owner of charms with divine "power, and able to reprimand, thwart and expel therewith diseases "caused by demons. While discoursing with P'ei, he said: 'I have "been told that your darling son has been rendered ill, and "is not yet cured; I should much like to see him'. P'ei let "him see the boy, when the doctor exclaimed with terror: 'the "young gentleman has a fox-disease; if he be not forthwith placed "under treatment, his condition will become grave'. P'ei then told "him of the doctor Kao, on which the other smiled and said: "'how do you know this gentleman is no fox?' They sat down, "and had just arranged a meal and begun the work of reprimanding "and thwarting (the demon), when colleague Kao dropped in.

"No sooner had he entered than he loudly upbraided P'ei: "'how is that! this boy is cured, and you take a fox into his "room? it is just this animal that caused his sickness!' Wang in "his turn, on seeing Kao, cried out: 'Verily, here we have the "wicked fox; of a surety, here he is; how could his arts serve to "reprimand and summon the spectre!' In this way the two men "went on reviling each other confusedly, and P'ei's family stood "stupefied with fright and amazement, when unexpectedly a Taoist "doctor appeared at the gate. 'I hear', said he to the domestic, "'that Mr. P'ei has a son suffering of fox-disease; I am a ghost-"seer; tell this to your master, and beg permission for me to "enter and interview him'. The servant hastened with this message

"to P'ei, who came forth and told the Taoist what was going on. "With the words: 'this matter is easy to arrange' he entered, in "order to see the two; but at once they cried out against him: "'this too is a fox; how has he managed to delude people here "under the guise of a Taoist doctor?' He however returned their "abuse: 'you foxes, go back to the graves in the wilds beyond the "town', he shouted, 'why do you harry these people?' With that "he shut the door, and the trio continued for some moments to "quarrel and fight, the fright of P'ei still increasing and his servants "being too perturbed to devise a good means to get rid of them. "But at nightfall all noise ceased. They then opened the door, and "saw three foxes stretched on the ground, panting and motionless. "P'ei scourged them soundly till they were dead, and in the next "ten days the boy recovered" [1].

---

[1] 唐貞元中江陵少尹裴君者、亡其名、有子十餘歲、聰敏、有文學、風貌明秀、裴君深念之。後被病、旬日益甚。醫藥無及、裴方求道術士用呵禁之、冀瘳其苦、有叩門者、自稱高氏子、以符術爲業。裴卽延入、令視其子。生曰、此子非他疾乃妖狐所爲耳、然某有術能愈之。卽謝而祈焉、生遂以符術考召、近食頃其子忽起、曰、某病今愈。裴君大喜、謂高生爲眞術士、具食飲已而厚贈緡帛、謝遣之。生曰、自此當日日來候耳、遂去。

其子他疾雖愈而神魂不足、往往狂語、或笑或哭、不可禁。高生每至裴君則以此且祈之、生曰、此子精魂已爲妖魅所繫、今尙未還耳、不旬日當間、幸無以憂。裴信之。

居數日又有王生者、自言有神符、能以呵禁除去妖魅疾、來謁裴。與語、謂裴曰、聞君愛子被病、且未瘳、願得一見矣。裴卽使見其子、生大驚曰、此郎君病狐也、不速治當加甚耳。裴君因話高生、王笑曰、安知高生不爲狐。乃坐、方設席爲呵禁、高生忽至。

旣入大罵、曰、奈何、此子病愈而乃延一狐於

It can hardly be questioned, that for an explanation of the character of the fox as an impostor, always ready to torment man with antic tricks, we need not look further than the fact that it possesses a cunning and shrewd disposition, disguised under a gentle, innocent look. We have shown (p. 582) by translation of a legend, that it already bore that character under the Han dynasty. We have also seen from one of Yü Pao's tales (p. 189), that in the time in which this author lived, foxes were believed to change themselves into charming maids, with the object of tempting men to sexual intercourse. It is especially in this character of seducer that in all ages, down to the present day, Reynard has afforded to the Chinese mind a favourite topic for the exercise of its myth-making ingenuity. The fact that a work extant in Yü Pao's time identified such bewitching were-vixens with a woman of loose morals who lived in very ancient times (see page 189), intimates a belief in the existence of such devils in times anterior to the fourth century.

The *Hüen chung ki*, which existed before the sixth century, formulated the popular ideas on dangerous fox-elves in the following terms: "When the fox is fifty years old, it can transform itself "into a woman; when a hundred years old, it becomes a beautiful "female, or a wu possessed by a spirit (shen), or a grown-up "man who has sexual intercourse with women. Such beings are "able to know things occurring at more than a thousand miles "distant; they can poison men by sorcery, or possess them, and "bewilder them, so that they lose their memory and knowledge. And

室內耶、卽爲病者耳。王見高來亦罵曰、果然妖狐、今果至、安用爲他術考召哉。二人紛然相詬辱不已、裴氏家方大駭異、忽有一道士至門。私謂家僮曰、聞裴公有子病狐、吾善視鬼、汝但告請入謁。家僮馳白裴君、出話其事。道士曰、易矣耳、入見二人、二人又詬、曰、此亦妖狐、安得爲道士惑人。道士亦罵之、曰、狐當還郊野墟墓中、何爲撓人乎。旣而閉戶、相鬬毆數食頃、裴君益恐、其家童惶惑計無所出。及暮闃然不聞聲問。視、三狐皆仆地而喘不能動矣。裴君盡鞭殺之、其子後旬日乃愈. *Suen-shih chi.*

"when a fox is a thousand years old, it penetrates to heaven, and "becomes a celestial fox" [1].

The continuation of Yü Pao's book of marvels, written not much later than this, teaches us, that in the fourth century women of easy virtue were represented as formally enlisted by the fox-world for purposes of harlotry. Thus we read in one of its pages: "One "Ku Chen of Wu was hunting, and came to a hill, where he "heard a human voice say: "tut-tut, matters go badly this year". "He searched upon the hill with his companions, and discovered "in a pit, which was an ancient tomb, a hoary fox, squatted "behind a written scroll, over which it bent its fingers and made "an addition. They set the hounds upon it, which killed it with "a loud barking. He then picked up the scroll, and found that "it contained nothing but a list of lewd women, and that those "who had already submitted to illicit intercourse were marked "with a red circlet. There were more than one hundred names, "and that of Chen's daughter stood in the list" [2].

The belief in bewitching were-vixens, or, as we find them generally denoted in the books, hu mei [3], "vulpine enchantresses", was specially prominent during the T'ang dynasty. A great number of tales devoted to them, still current nowadays, may be traced back to that period. The *Kwang i ki*, probably the principal book of marvels of that epoch, devoted much space to tales relating to such demons in the drama of human life. An idea of the ingenuity of fablers of that time, and of the tenor of their products, may be gathered from the following legend:

"A son of the family Wei in Tu-ling dwelt in Han-ch'ing (in

---

[1] 狐五十歲能變化爲婦人、百歲爲美女、爲神巫、或爲丈夫與女人交接。能知千里外事、善蠱魅、使人迷惑失智。千歲卽與天通爲天狐. KK, ch. 447.

[2] 吳郡顧旃獵至一崗、忽聞人語聲云、咄咄、今年衰。乃與衆尋覓崗頂、有一穿、是古時冢、見一老狐蹲冢中、前有一卷簿書、老狐對書屈指有所計校。乃放犬、咋殺之。取視簿書、悉是姦人女名、已經姦者乃以朱鉤頭所疏。名有百數、旃女正在簿次. *Sheu shen hou ki*, ch. 9.

[3] 狐媚.

"Shensi) and was the owner of a country-house, some ten miles "north of that town. In the first year of the Khai ch'ing period "(A.D. 836) he left the town for it in the autumnal season, "and saw at nightfall a woman in plain dress coming from the "north with a calabash. 'For a year I have dwelt in a village "north of the town', said she; 'my family is very poor; I suffer "ignominious treatment from a village tax-collector, and am now "on the way to denounce that man to the magistrates; I shall "be much obliged if you will write down the case on paper "and let me have the document, that I may take it to the town, "and thus wash away the shame that is brought upon me by "that man'. Wei consented to do this, and the woman bowing "to him politely, they sat down on the turf. Taking a wine-goblet "from her clothes, the woman said, 'I have wine in my cala-"bash: let us empty it together, and be drunken'; and filling the "cup, she drank to his health. Wei in his turn raised the goblet, "but just then a huntsman on horseback came by from the west "with a pack of hounds. On perceiving them, the woman instantly "ran off eastwards, and she had not taken more than ten paces at "the most, when she was transformed into a fox. Wei's fright was "great on seeing that the cup he held was a human skull, and that "the wine was something like cow-piss. He had an attack of fever, "which subsided however in a month" [1].

The following poetic formulation of the principal ideas entertained by the Chinese of the T'ang period concerning the bewitching influences of were-vixens on the minds and passions of men, we

---

[1] 杜陵韋氏子家于韓城、有別墅在邑北十餘里。開成元年秋自邑中遊焉、日暮見一婦人、素衣、挈一瓢、自北而來。謂韋曰、妾居邑北里中有年矣、家甚貧、今爲里胥所辱、將訟于官、幸吾子紙筆書其事、妾得以執詣邑、冀雪其恥。韋諾之、婦人卽揖韋、坐田野。衣中出一酒巵曰、瓢中有酒、願與吾子盡醉、於是注酒一飲韋。韋方舉巵、會有獵騎從西來、引數犬。婦人望見卽東走、數十步化爲一狐。韋大恐視手中巵乃一髑髏、酒若牛溺之狀。韋因病熱、月餘方瘳. *Sien-shih chi.*

owe to the writing-brush of Poh Kü-yih [1], a statesman of renown, who lived from 771—847, at the same time a prolific prose-writer and poet:

"When a fox-spectre of an old grave is growing old,
"It changes into a woman of lovely features;
"Its head changes into a female coiffure, its face into a painted countenance;
"The big tail it trails behind becomes a long red petticoat.
"Slowly she strides along the paths between the rustic hamlets,
"And where at sunset no human sounds are heard
"She sings, she dances, and alternately laments and wails,
"Without raising her eyebrows velvety as the kingfisher, but bowing her pretty face.
"She bursts into a fit of laughter, a thousand, a myriad of joys,
"Eight or nine out of ten who behold her, are beguiled;
"If false beauties may fascinate man in such a manner,
"The attraction exercised by genuine beauties cannot fail to surpass it.
"Such false and such genuine beauties both can bewilder a man,
"But the human mind dislikes what is false, and prefers what is real,
"Hence a fox disguised as a female devil can do but little harm,
"Nor can beguile a man's eyes for longer than a day or a night;
"But a woman acting like a vulpine enchantress is the cause of absolute ruin,
"For man's mind she makes boil for a length of days and a series of months" [2].

---

[1] 白居易.

[2] 古冢狐妖且爲老、化爲婦人顏色好、
頭變雲鬟面變妝、大尾曳作長紅裳。
徐徐行傍荒村路、日欲暮時人靜處、
或歌或舞或悲啼、翠眉不舉花顏低。
忽然一笑千萬忻、見者十人八九迷、
假色迷人猶若是、眞色迷人應過此。
彼眞此假俱迷人、人心惡假貴重眞、
狐假女妖害猶淺、一朝一夕迷人眼、
女爲狐媚害卽深、日長月增湏人心. TS, sect. 神異, ch. 315.

It is unnecessary for us to review at length the numerous adventures of men with bewitching were-foxes, that have been invented by Chinese fablers and committed to writing, or transmitted by oral tradition [1]. It is sufficient for our purpose to translate only such legends and extracts as give us the main features of the subject; all the rest we may consider as mere repetition, and therefore quietly pass over. Among those which demand our attention, there are some which depict Reynard as an impostor so enormous that, far from contented with the simulation of human forms, he assumes the garb of religious holiness, nay, the shape of the Buddhas themselves, to insinuate himself into the favour of men, and even to obtain access to such awe-inspiring places as imperial palaces. Invested with this characteristic he appears especially in the tales of the T'ang dynasty.

"In the Yung hwui period of the reign of that House", thus the *Kwang i ki* relates, "there lived in T'ai-yuen (Shansi pr.) "a man calling himself the Buddha Maitreya (the Messiah of the "future). Those who went up to pay him their respects saw his "stature so great that it reached to the skies; then after a while "he gradually shrank unto the size of five or six feet; his body "was like a red lotusflower amidst its leaves. 'Do you know', "spake he to the people, 'that the Buddha has three bodies? (tri-"kāya)? The greatest is his real body; worship it, prostrate your-"self before it respectfully'. But Fuh-li, a monk in the city, deeply "versed in the esoteric doctrine, heaved a sigh and said: 'After "this Dharma (*i. e.* state) of reality, that of ideas will begin, and "beyond this still lies a final Dharma (viz. a final state of perfect "intelligence); and from this final Dharma till the state of ideas "in Nirvāṇa still lie several thousand years. After the extinction "of Shakya's doctrines our Great Kalpa will be destroyed, and "after this event Maitreya will descend from the Tuchita heaven "unto the Djambudwipa; but Shakya's doctrines have not yet "vanished; hence I do not understand why Maitreya descends at "so early a date; all that fervent and devout reverence then seems

[1] Some have been translated or paraphrased by European authors, and contribute useful material to our knowledge of oriental animal lore. See *e. g.* the paper of Birch in the Chinese and Japanese Repository for 1863, p. 91; that of Watters in the Journal of the N. Ch. Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, VIII, and that of Mayers in the Notes and Queries on China and Japan, I, p. 26. Some fox-myths may be found in Giles' Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio, which are fables selected from the *Liao-chai chi i*.

"to be merely paid to a counterfeit of him'. Suddenly he perceived "from the sole of the saint's foot that he was an old fox, as also "that his pennons, flowers, yak-tail and canopy were mock paper "money from a grave. 'Is Maitreya something like this?' exclaimed "Fuh-li, rubbing his hands; and no sooner had he uttered these "words than the fox returned to its true form. Down from its "seat it came, and off it ran. They gave chase, but could not "overtake it" [1].

The same work relates:

"When the empress Tseh-t'ien of the T'ang dynasty was seated "on the throne (684—706), there was a woman who called herself "a holy Bodhisatwa. Everything which men fixed their thoughts "upon, she knew. The empress summoned her to Court, where "all she said proved to be so reliable that she was surrounded "with devotion for some months, and praised as a genuine Bodhi-"satwa. Then the monk Ta-ngan entered the Palace, and was asked "by the empress whether he had seen the female Bodhisatwa. "'Where is she?' he replied; 'I long to see her'; and the empress "gave orders to let them have an interview [2].

---

[1] 唐永徽中太原有人、自稱彌勒佛。禮謁之者見其形抵于天、久之漸小纔五六尺、身如紅蓮花在葉中。謂人曰、汝等知佛有三身乎。其大者爲正身、禮敬頓。邑僧服禮者博于內學、歎曰、正法之後始入像法、像法之外尙有末法、末法之法至于無法像法處乎其間者尙數千年矣。釋迦教盡然後大劫始壞、劫壞之後彌勒方去兜率下閻浮提、今釋迦之教未虧、不知彌勒何遽下降、因是虔誠作禮如對彌勒之狀。忽見足下是老狐、幡花旄蓋悉是冢墓之間紙錢爾。禮撫掌曰、彌勒如此耶、具言如狀。遂下走。追之不及. K K, ch. 447.

[2] 唐則天在位有女人、自稱聖菩薩。人心所在女必知之。太后召入宮、前後所言皆驗、宮中敬事之數月、謂爲眞菩薩。其後大安和尙入宮、太后問見女菩薩。大安曰、菩薩何在、願一見之、勅令與之相見。

"The volatile soul of the monk (his thoughts) now soared away "for a while, and then he asked: 'you can see thoughts; well, "try to see where mine have been'. 'Between the bells at the "round disks on the top of the pagoda', she answered. Immediately "he repeated his question, and the answer was: 'In the palace of "Maitreya in the Tuchita heaven, listening to the preaching of the "Law'. And then he questioned her a third time, and she said "his thoughts were in the highest heaven where even no uncon- "sciousness exists; and those three answers all were correct.

"The empress was delighted; but Ta-ngan fixed his thoughts "upon the fourth fruit of sanctity, viz. on Arhatship, and this time "the saint could not find it out. Now Ta-ngan exclaimed: 'you "cannot discover it when I fix my thoughts upon Arhatship; "how then can you do so when I fix them upon the (still higher) "state of Bodhisatwas and Buddhas?' The woman confessed herself "beaten; she changed into a vixen, ran down the steps, and hurried "off, and nobody knew whither she ran" [1].

— "Under the T'ang dynasty there lived among the people of "Tai-cheu (prov. of Shansi) a girl, whose brother was not at home, "but in a distant garrison. While thus the girl lived alone with her "mother, they unexpectedly saw a Bodhisatwa come, riding on a "cloud. 'Highly virtuous is your house', quoth he to the mother, "'I desire to abide in it; hasten to put it into good condition, as "I will then visit it frequently'. The villagers emulously went "there to put the matter in order, and no sooner were they ready "than the Bodhisatwa descended into the house on a five-coloured "cloud. Numerous were the villagers who resorted to the spot "with sacrifices; but the saint ordered to make no stir about the "matter, lest believers should flock incessantly to and fro from all "sides. They accordingly admonished each other to hold their

[1] 和尚風神邈然久之、大安曰、汝善觀心、試觀我心安在。答曰、師心在塔頭相輪邊鈴中。尋復問之、曰、在兜率天彌勒宮中聽法。第三問之、曰、在非非想天、皆如其言。

太后忻悅、大安因且置心于四果阿羅漢地、則不能知。大安呵曰、我心始置阿羅漢之地汝已不知、若置于菩薩諸佛之地何由可料。女詞屈、變作牝狐、下階而走、不知所適. *Op. et cap. cit.*

"tongues, and the Bodhisatwa had intercourse with the girl, so "that she became pregnant. A year passed by, and the brother "came home; but the Bodhisatwa declared that he did not desire "to see any male creatures, and prevailed upon the mother to "drive her son out. The latter thus being unable to approach the "saint, used his money for securing the help of a Taoist doctor, "and finally found one who applied his arts on his behalf. They "thus discovered that the Bodhisatwa was an old fox; sword in hand, "he rushed into the house, and despatched the brute" [1].

Popular superstition seems to have sometimes ascribed the bewitching faculties of were-foxes to the fact that they are possessed of a mysterious pearl, probably representing nothing else than their soul. Indeed, as we have seen on pp. 330 *seq.*, pearls are deemed to be particularly animated, and hence the idea that souls of living beings may have the shape of pearls is perfectly natural. "Liu "Ts'üen-poh of the T'ang dynasty", runs a tale, "relates that "Chung-ngai (lit. Every one's Love), the son of his foster-mother, "used to amuse himself in his youth by placing a net across the "road in the night, in order to catch some wild pig, fox or other "animal. Ts'üen-poh's hamlet lay at the foot of a hill. One evening "Chung-ngai set his net some miles to the west of the hamlet, "hiding himself by it to observe what would come. There he heard "in the dark the sound of steps, and saw a beast in crouching "attitude, which, perceiving the net, reared itself up, and changed "into a woman wearing a red petticoat. Evading the net, she "walked to a car that stood before Chung-ngai, there caught a rat, "and devoured it. Chung-ngai drove her into the net by his cries, "and cudgelled her to death; but as she did not change her shape "under the blows, he fell a prey to doubt and fear; and thinking

[1] 唐代州民有一女、其兄遠戍不在。母與女獨居、忽見菩薩乘雲而至。謂母曰、汝家甚善、吾欲居之、可速修理、尋常來也。村人競往處置、適畢菩薩馭五色雲來下其室。村人供養甚衆、仍敕衆等不令有言、恐四方信心往來不止。村人以是相戒不說其事、菩薩與女私通、有娠。經年其兄還、菩薩云不欲見男子、令母逐之。兒不得至、因傾財求道士、久之有道士爲作法。竊視菩薩是一老狐、乃持刀入、斫殺之. The same work, ch. 450.

"she might after all be a human being, he cast her, net and all,
"into a tank used for the soaking of hemp.

"It was night when he returned home. He consulted his parents,
"and at daybreak the family would flee, but Chung-ngai said
"to himself: 'do women devour living rats? this one must be a
"fox'. He returned to the tank, and seeing that the woman had
"revived, he struck at the small of her back with a large axe,
"and lo, she turned into a hoary fox. Chung-ngai, elated, took the
"beast to the village, where an old Buddhist monk, seeing that it
"was not yet dead, advised him to keep it alive. 'The mouth of
"the fox contains a bewitching pearl', said he; 'if you get it, you
"will become a favourite of the whole world'. He placed the brute
"with tied paws under a large hamper, and when after some days
"it could take food, the monk buried a jug with a narrow mouth
"in such a manner that the mouth was on a level with the ground.
"Then he put two slices of fried pork into it, and the fox, craving
"for the roast, but unable to reach it, placed its jaws over the jug;
"and when the roast was cold, another couple of slices were put
"into the jug, with the result that the mouth of the animal began
"to water. They went on in this wise till the jug was full, when
"the fox vomited out a pearl and died. This pearl was shaped like
"a draughtsman, perfectly round, and of the purest water. Chung-
"ngai frequently wore it in his girdle, with the result that he
"was greatly esteemed by his people" [1].

---

[1] 唐劉全白說云、其乳母子衆愛少時好夜中將網斷道、取野猪及狐狸等。全白莊在岐下。後一夕衆於莊西數里下網、已伏網中以伺其至。暗中聞物行聲、覘見一物伏地、窺網因爾起立、變成緋裙婦人。行而違網至愛前車側、忽捉一鼠食。愛連呵之、婦人忙遽入網、乃棒之致斃、而人形不改、愛反疑懼、恐或是人、因和網沒溷麻池中。

夜還。與父母議、及明舉家欲潛逃去、愛竊云、寧有婦人食生鼠、此必狐耳。復往麻池視之、見婦人已活、因以大斧自腰後斫之、便成老狐。愛大喜、將還村中、有老僧見狐未死勸令養之。云、狐口中媚珠、若能得之當爲天下所愛。以繩縛

If the capacity of foxes to change into men is also ascribed to their alleged contact with human bodies in old graves (comp. p. 192), it is reasonable that they should often be represented as appearing in the form which men assume after death, that is, as human spectres. Yü Pao describes for us a goblin of this sort in the following tale: "In the western suburb of Nan-yang stood a pavilion, "where nobody could sojourn without incurring harm. But one "Sung Ta-hien, a man of that town, imperturbable on account of "his having walked in the correct Path (Tao), has succeeded in "passing a night in the storey of the pavilion, seated in the dark and "playing on a lute, without any weapon or stick about him. At "midnight a spectre appeared; up the ladder it climbed and accosted "Ta-hien. It had a staring look, whetted teeth, and repulsive form "and features. As he went on strumming on the lute, the spectre "departed to fetch a dead man's head out of the street, with which "it returned. 'Will not you take a nap?' it said to Ta-hien, flinging "the head before his feet. 'Very good', retorted the other, 'I have "no pillow to lay my head on this night; this is just the thing I "want'. Again the spectre departed, to come back after a while. 'Shall "we now have some boxing?' it said. 'Very good', replied Ta-hien, "and ere these words were out of his mouth the spectre stood before "him, but was grasped so tightly about the loins that it only could "cry in distress: 'I am dying!' Ta-hien despatched it, and when the day "broke he saw that it was an old fox. Since that time there have "no more been any apparitions of spectres in that pavilion" [1].

---

狐四足、又以大籠罩其上、養數日狐能食、僧用小缶口窄者埋地中、令口與地齊。以兩胾猪肉炙於缶中、狐愛炙而不能得、但以口屬缶、候炙冷復下兩臠、狐涎沫。久之炙與缶滿、狐乃吐珠而死。珠狀如棋子、通圓而潔。愛每帶之、大爲其夫所貴. The same work, ch. 451.

[1] 南陽西郊有一亭、人不可止、止則有禍。邑人宋大賢以正道自處、嘗宿亭樓、夜坐鼓琴、不設兵仗。至夜半時忽有鬼來、登梯與大賢語。瞠目、磔齒、形貌可惡。大賢鼓琴如故、鬼乃去、於市中取死人頭來還。語大賢曰、寧可少睡耶、因以死人頭投大賢前。大賢曰、甚佳、吾暮臥無枕、

Although his double capacity of originator of disease, and of impostor under human guise amply suffices to assign to the fox a prominent place among the most dangerous demons that keep China in constant fear, there are yet other black stains in his character which add to the popular odium that attaches to him. Thus he lies under constant suspicion of arson. Conjecture seems useless to establish a reason for this, unless we attribute it to the old idea, mentioned on page 194 in an extract from the *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, that he produces fire by beating his tail.

The fox appears as an incendiary as early as the traditions about the remarkable exploits of Kwan Loh, the peerless magician and soothsayer of the third century, of whom the reader has heard on page 1000 of Book I. "When Kwan Loh was lodging in a country-"house, he visited a distant neighbour, who was harassed by frequent "outbreaks of fire. Kwan Loh consulted the tortoise-shell about the "matter, and ordered him to go the next morning to the end of "the road towards the south, and wait there for a gentleman "wearing a single-pointed kerchief and driving in an old car with "a black ox; this man he was to take to his house, to detain, "and to treat well as a guest, for it was he who could remedy the "evil. The other obeyed these orders, and though the gentleman "was in a great hurry and begged leave to pursue his journey, he "was not allowed to do so, and was detained.

"When he retired to rest, a very uneasy feeling came over him. "He took counsel with himself, and when his host had finally "left his room, he grasped a sword and left the house. Between "two piles of fuel he stood leaning, and feigned to doze, when "suddenly a little animal passed right in front of him, resembling "a quadruped and holding fire in its paw, which it fanned with "its breath. The affrighted stranger raised his sword, struck the "beast right through the loins, and then saw that it was a fox. "Henceforth the host suffered no more from fire-disasters" [1].

---

正欲得此。鬼復去、良久乃還。曰、寧可共手搏耶。大賢曰、善、語未竟鬼在前、大賢便逆捉其腰、鬼但急言死。大賢遂殺之、明日視之、乃老狐也。自是亭舍更無妖怪. *Shen shen ki*, ch. 18.

[1] 管輅在田舍、嘗候遠鄰、主人患數失火。輅卜、教使明日於南陌上伺當有一角巾諸生、駕

Those among the Chinese, who wish to realize what an enormous evil fox-demons are, can hardly do better than acquaint themselves with the following sad tale in Yü Pao's collection: "Under the "reign of the Tsin dynasty there was in Wu-hing (in Chehkiang pr.) "a man with two sons. These were harvesting in the field, when "they saw their father appear and pursue them with invectives and "even with blows. They complained of this treatment to their mother, "who asked the father why he had done so. He was greatly startled "by these words, and arrived at the conclusion that this must be "a trick played by a spectre. So he told the sons to slay it with "their axes, but the spectre kept quiet, and did not go there again. "The father, fearing that it might harry his boys somehow or other, "went to look after them, on which the sons, crying out 'here is "the spectre!' killed him, and buried his body in the ground. There- "upon the spectre hurried to the house, assumed the shape of the "father, and told the inmates that the boys had killed the spectre. "In the evening they came home, and were congratulated cordially "by every one [1].

"The actual truth remained a secret to them for several years, "until a priest passed their house. 'Your father', said he to the "two sons, 'exercises a very unpropitious influence'. They reported "this saying to their father, who burst into such a rage that the "sons hurried out of the door to advise the priest to beat a hasty "retreat; but as the latter entered with a noise, the father, turning

---

黑牛故車、必引留爲設賓主、此能消之。卽從輅戒、諸生有急求去、不聽、遂留。

當宿意大不安。以爲圖已、主人罷入、生乃把刀出門。倚兩薪積間側立、假寐、猝有一小物直來過前、如獸、手中持火、以口吹之。生驚舉刀、斫正斷腰、視之則狐。自此主人不復有災. Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms; Memoirs of Wei, ch. 29, l. 27.

[1] 晉時吳興一人有二男。田中作時、嘗見父來罵詈赶打之。兒以告母、母問其父。父大驚、知是鬼魅。便令兒斫之、鬼便寂、不復往。父憂恐兒爲鬼所困、便自往看兒、謂是鬼、便殺而埋之。鬼便遂歸、作其父形、且語其家二兒已殺妖矣。兒暮歸、共相慶賀。

"into a big old fox, crept under the bed, where he was seized "and killed. The man they formerly slew was their real father. "They re-interred him in another grave and observed mourning "for him; but subsequently one of the sons committed suicide, "while the other died of remorse" [1].

Far from being always so dangerous, the tricks played by foxes on men are sometimes of a rather humorous sort, though no less terrifying to the simple-minded people. Thus it was deemed an event worthy of record in the dynastic annals of the Wei dynasty, that "in the first year of the T'ai hwo period (A.D. 477) fox-elves cut off the people's hair", diverting themselves with the same play forty years later, "in the second year of the Hi p'ing "period, in the imperial capital, from the spring of that year onwards, "keeping the population in fright and terror. The empress-dowager "Ling decreed in the sixth month, that all such cutters of hair should "be whipped without the gate of the Thousand Autumns by the "good care of Liu T'eng, the chief of the guards of the Ch'ung-"hiun palace" [2].

We find some particulars about this strange panic in the interesting "Description of Buddhist Convents at Loh-yang", of which we made mention on page 344 of Book I. "To the north of the bazaar were "two wards, named Ts'ze-hiao and Fung-chung, where the people "sold coffins and grave-vaults, and hired out funeral carriages. "There dwelt there a singer of dirges, named Sun Yen, who had "been married for three years without his wife having ever slept "undressed. This in the end aroused his curiosity to such a degree "that he watched a moment when she was asleep, and undressing "her discovered three hairs, three feet in length, resembling the tail "of a wild fox. Out of fear he divorced her, and when the wife

---

[1] 積年不覺。後有一法師過其家。語二兒云。君尊侯有大邪氣。兒以白父。父大怒。兒出以語師令速去。師遂作聲入。父則成大老狸。入牀下。遂擒殺之。向所殺者乃眞父也。改殯治服。一兒遂自殺。一兒忿懊亦死. *Shen shen ki*, ch. 18.

[2] 太和元年有狐魅截人髮。熙平二年自春京師有狐魅截人髮。人相驚恐。六月靈太后召諸截髮者使崇訓衛尉劉騰鞭之於千秋門外. Ch. 112, I, l. 25.

"departed she took a knife, cut off his hair, and away she ran. "As the neighbours ran after her, she changed into a fox, which "could not be caught.

"After this event, more than a hundred and thirty people in "the capital were relieved of their hair. At first the fox moved "on the roads in the shape of a woman, dressed, adorned and "painted, who charmed everybody that saw her; but those who "approached her had their hair cut off. Thus it was that women "in gaudy dress were pointed at with the finger by every one as "fox-elves. These things occurred in the fourth month of the second "year of the Hi p'ing period, and they did not end until the "autumn of that year" [1].

The possibility of fox-demons depriving men of their hair being thus established by history, fabulists have often framed tales thereon. We need not, however, here pay any more attention to their work, as the numerous fox-tales contained in Chinese books posterior to the T'ang dynasty shed no new light on our theme. They may all be said to move within the orbit of the ideas which we have passed in review; which fact renders fox-literature rather tedious, monotonous, and often insipid. But this does not imply that much of it will not amply reward translation. It may considerably increase our knowledge of Asiatic zoological myth, enlarge our insight into the inventiveness and genius of the Chinese, acquaint us with all sorts of tricks which their fancy has contrived and ascribes to animals in general and to Reynard in particular. It may also show us the ways in which tricks of malicious foxes may be frustrated and they themselves unmasked. Apart from wounding or killing were-foxes or setting dogs upon them, which, as we

---

[1] 市北慈孝奉終二里、里內人以賣棺槨爲業、賃轜車爲事。有挽歌孫巖、娶妻三年不脫衣而臥。巖因怪之、伺其睡、除解其衣、有三毛長三尺、似野狐尾。巖懼而出之、妻臨去將刀、截巖髮而走。鄰人追之、變成一狐、追之不得。

其後京邑被截髮者一百三十餘人。初變婦人、衣服靚粧、行於道路、人見而悅之、近者被截髮。當時有婦人著綠衣者人皆指其狐魅。熙平二年四月有、至此秋乃止. Chapter IV.

know, are sure means to force them to re-assume the vulpine form, they may be unmasked by clever bookmen, priests, monks, and ghost-seers. They may be conjured back into their animal state by incantation, or should they have set themselves up as scholars or saints, by being outwitted or checkmated in discussion. The same result, according to some tales, may be obtained by giving them poisonous food, or by employing written charms against them. A good device for unmasking them is to investigate whether they have a complete tail or something like a caudal appendage, and then to cut it off, when they will be seen immediately take to flight on all fours.

It is not surprising after all this, that fox-literature leads to the conclusion that Reynard has always been an object of hot persecution. To unearth him and his progeny, and doom them all to a death by fire, was ever a commonplace sport in the Empire of the Midst, and the fact that the Code of Laws of the Ming dynasty and the present reigning house contains special provisions against damaging graves by smoking foxes thereout (see B. I, p. 872), certainly points to the frequency of such work of destruction.

Besides by means of human skulls and bones (comp. pp. 192 *sqq.*), the fox, like the tiger, often brings about his metamorphosis into a man by swallowing written charms or pronouncing spells. He may possess still other expedients for effecting the same end, but we do not find them mentioned in Chinese works.

### 5. Various wild Mammals as Demons.

Whereas every animal, according to the Chinese, possesses a soul, and, as Chapter X of Part I has shown, may assume the human shape, it is quite rational that they also admit that every animal may be a spectre capable of inflicting evil upon man.

As early as the fourth century Koh Hung warned mankind against quite a series of animals, especially against a dozen in connexion with the twelve Branches which each denote a day in every dozen (comp. page 987 of Book I), these animals thus exercising an influence each in its turn on the human fate during one day. "If on a yin day there is a being in the mountains calling "himself a forester, he is a tiger; if he calls himself a prince "on the road, he is a wolf; and he is an old fox if he declares "himself to be a chief. Should he appear on a mao day and

"style himself a senior, he is a hare; but if he says he is the "royal father of the east, he is a deer, and he is a stag should "he say he is the royal mother of the west. On a ch'en day, "he is a dragon if he styles himself rain-master, a fish if he "says he is a river-chief, and a lobster if he says he is a bowelless "gentleman. He who on a szĕ day calls himself a widow, is a "snake living in the villages, or a tortoise if he says he is the "lord of time. On a wu day, he is either a horse or an old tree, "according as he says he is one of the three ministers, or an im- "mortal. And on a wei day, such a being is a goat if he says "he is a host, and a roe if he says he is an official. On a shen "day, he is either a monkey or a gibbon, according as he says he "is a prince or one of the nine ministers. On a yiu day, he is "a cock should he say he is a general, or a pheasant if he says "he is a catcher of insurgents. Should he say on a suh day "he bears a human surname and cognomen, he is a dog, but "if he states on such a day he is a lord of the accomplished "Yang, he is a fox. On hai days, those that call themselves "ladies are gold or jade, and those that say they are divine princes "are pigs. Those that on a tszĕ day declare themselves to be "tutelary divinities of the soil, are rats, and those that say they "are divine men are bats; and finally, such beings as assert on a "ch'eu day that they are scholars, are oxen. If you only know "these their animal names, they can do you no harm" [1].

---

[1] 山中寅日有自稱虞吏者虎也、稱當路君者狼也、稱令長者老狸也。卯日稱丈人者兎也、稱東王父者麋也、稱西王母者鹿也。辰日稱雨師者龍也、稱河伯者魚也、稱無腸公子者蟹也。巳日稱寡人者社中蛇也、稱時君者龜也。午日稱三公者馬也、稱僊人者老樹也。未日稱主人者羊也、稱吏者麞也。申日稱人君者猴也、稱九卿者猿也。酉日稱將軍者雞也、稱捕賊者雉也。戌日稱人姓字者犬也、稱成陽公者狐也。亥日稱婦人者金玉也、稱神君者猪也。子日稱社君者鼠也、稱神人者伏翼也。丑日稱書生者牛也。但知其物名則不能爲害也. Chapt. IV, sect. 登涉.

The stag being neither dangerous nor malicious, save in certain exceptional cases, we should hardly expect it to occupy a place in Chinese folklore as a demon. Yet we find it in this rôle in the following old tale: "Sié Kwun of the Ch'en province had resigned "his office on account of ill-health, and was living in retirement "in Yü-chang. There while making an excursion, he spent the night "in an empty pavilion. Before that time, human lives had frequently "been lost there. At the fourth watch, a man in yellow clothes "called Kwun by his cognomen, saying: 'Yiu-yü, open the door', "but, perfectly imperturbable and without any symptoms of fear, "he bade the other to put his arm through the window. The man "indeed offered his wrist to Kwun, who pulling at it with all "his might, tore the arm right off the body. The owner beat a "retreat, and the next morning Kwun saw that it was the foreleg "of a stag. Tracing up the bloody prints, he caught the beast, and "the pavilion was no longer haunted" [1].

The hare too occasionally becomes a dangerous spectre, especially if it is old, and (see p. 162) thereby apt to assume other shapes. "In the Hwang ch'u period of the Wei dynasty (A.D. 220—227) "a man of the Tun-khiu region was travelling on horseback in the "dark, and saw in his path a beast of the size of a hare, with "eyes like mirrors. Hopping before his horse, it prevented this "from proceeding, affrighting the rider so much that he tumbled off. "The spectre then approached, and seized him so that fright killed "him, and it was a long time before he revived. By that time the "spectre had gone, he knew not whither.

"Our hero remounted his horse, and after travelling a few miles "fell in with a man, whom, after having exchanged the custo- "mary questions, he informed of his recent adventure, declaring "how glad he was now to find a companion. 'I too am quite "alone', replied the other, 'and I cannot tell you how relieved I feel "to have your company; your horse moves faster than I; if you

---

[1] 陳郡謝鯤謝病去職、避地於豫章。嘗行經空亭中夜宿。此亭舊每殺人。夜四更有一黃衣人呼鯤字云、幼輿可開戶、鯤澹然無懼色令申臂於窗中。於是授腕、鯤卽極力而牽之、其臂遂脫。乃還去、明日看乃鹿臂也。尋血取獲、爾後此亭無復妖怪. *Shen shen ki*, ch. 18.

"ride on ahead, I will walk behind'. While journeying together in "this fashion, the wayfarer asked: 'how did that beast look, that "just now affrighted you so?' 'Its body was like a hare', was the "answer, 'its eyes resembled mirrors; its shape was most repulsive'. "'Then look at me', said the other; so he did, and there he saw "that same spectre again. It leapt on the horse, the rider fell off "lifeless with fright. His family, astonished to see the horse come "home alone, immediately ran out to seek him, and found him "by the roadside. During that night he awoke, and told them the "incident as we have here related it" [1].

The few tales of monkey-demons, which we have been able to unearth from the literature of China, differ too little, in so far as their general character is concerned, from those about other animal-devils to deserve translation. Only two of the oldest are of some interest, seeing that they show us the monkey in the rôle of the fox, the wolf and the dog, that is, as a lewd fornicator of wives and maids, and as a seduceress, in beautiful female forms, of adults and inexperienced youths, whose senses it bewitches at the detriment of their health.

"In the T'ai yuen period (376—396) of the Tsin dynasty they "kept a monkey in the back palace of Tih Chao, prince of Ting-"ling, in front of the chambers of his concubines. These women "once upon a time simultaneously got in the family way, and each of "them gave birth to three children that danced and hopped while

---

[1] 魏黃初中頓邱界有人騎馬夜行、見道中有一物、大如兎、兩眼如鏡。跳躍馬前、令不得前、人遂驚懼墮馬。魅便就地捉之、驚怖暴死、良久得甦。甦已失魅、不知所在。

乃更上馬、前行數里逢一人、相問訊已、因說向者事變如此今相得爲伴甚歡。人曰、我獨行、得君爲伴快不可言、君馬行疾、且前、我在後相隨也。遂共行、語曰、向者物何如乃令君怖懼耶。對曰、其身如兎、兩眼如鏡、形甚可惡。伴曰、試顧視我耶、人顧視之猶復是也。魅便跳上馬、人遂墮地怖死。家人怪馬獨歸、卽行推索、乃于道邊得之。宿昔乃蘇、說狀如是. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 17.

"discharging from the bowels. Chao thus being convinced that the "monkey was the culprit, killed the beast and the children; which "made the women burst out all at once into wailing. He inter- "rogated them, and they avowed they had seen a young man "dressed with a yellow silk robe and a white gauze cap, a most "lovely personage, jesting and chatting quite like a man" [1].

— "In the last year of the T'ai yuen period (A.D. 396) "Sü Tsih-chi, while out for a stroll in the open country, saw "a girl with a water-lily, who held up her hand and beckoned him "to approach. Tsih-chi was charmed, and she invited him to share "her dwelling. From that time they had intercourse as old friends, "but he began to suffer from wasting, talking sometimes of visions "of beautiful rooms and deep halls with odorous divans and "broad mats. After he had indulged with that woman in feasting "and revelling for several years, the attention of his brother Sui-chi "was attracted to a conversation of several people in the house. "He stole near to investigate the matter, and saw a number of "girls leave the house by the back door, while only one stayed "and concealed herself in a basket. He entered, and then his "brother angrily assailed him with the words: 'we were just so "merry together, why do you surprise us so unmannerly? There is "one in that basket', he immediately continued; Sui-chi opened it, "and saw a she-monkey, which he killed. Thereupon his brother "became quite well again" [2].

---

[1] 晉太元中丁零王翟昭後宮養一獼猴、在妓女房前。前後妓女同時懷妊、各產子三頭、出便跳躍。昭方知是猴所爲、乃殺猴及子、妓女同時號哭。昭問之、云初見一年少、著黃練單衣白紗帢、甚可愛、笑語如人. *Shen hsien hou ki*, ch. 9.

[2] 太元末徐寂之嘗野行、見一女子操荷、舉手麾寂之。寂之悅而延住。此後來往如舊、寂之便患痿疿、時或言見華房深宇芳茵廣筵。寂之與女觴餚宴樂數年、其弟晬之聞屋內群語。潛往窺之、見數女子從後戶出、唯餘一者、隱在簀邊。晬之經入、寂之怒曰、今方歡集、何故唐突。忽復共言云、簀中有人、晬之卽發看、有一牝猴、遂殺之。寂之病漸瘳. *I yuen*; K K, ch. 446.

The position of the rat in Chinese demon-lore is rather significant. Like the fox and the monkey, it is, as we have showed by two tales on page 202, notorious for assuming the human shape to commit adultery with men, and for embracing Buddhist religious life with purposes not always deceitful. Should it wish to bewitch women for immoral purposes, it may do so without assuming human shape, as the following legend shows:

"In recent times there lived a man, who brought up a girl over "ten years old. One morning she was missed. A year elapsed "without any trace of her being discovered, when they heard from "time to time in a room of the house underground wailing of a "baby. They turned up the ground and discovered a hole, gradually "increasing in depth and width, and more than a chang in "length and breadth; here they found the girl sitting with a baby "in her arms, and a bald rat as large as a bushel beside her. She "saw them enter without recognizing her superiors, from which the "parents concluded that she was under the demonish influence of "that rat. They slew the beast, whereupon the girl burst into bitter "weeping; 'he is my husband!' she cried, 'why do they murder "him!' As they killed the child also, her lamentations were un- "ceasing, and ere they could cure her she died" [1].

Folklore also allows whole packs of rats, either in other animal forms, or as men, to haunt human dwellings and settlements, or swarm out of cracks and apertures and withdraw thither; and it represents such apparitions as omens of evil. Tales on this topic are numerous, a fact which we may, no doubt, readily assign to the frequent occurrence of rats in human dwellings, where daily they disturb the sleep and dreams of man. The following tale may characterize their position as harbingers or causes of evil. "In the last year of the "Tien pao period (A.D. 755) the Censor Pih Hang was Governor "of Wei-cheu, when this region fell into the power of the insurgent

---

[1] 近世有人養女年十餘歲。一旦失之。經歲無蹤跡、其家房中屢聞地下有小兒啼聲。掘之、初得一孔、漸深大、縱廣丈餘、見女在坎中坐、手抱孩子、旁有禿鼠、大如斗。女見家人不識主領、父母乃知爲鼠所魅。擊鼠殺之、女便悲泣、云我夫也、何忽爲人所殺。家人又殺其孩子、女乃悲泣不已、未及療之遂死. *Kwang i ki*; K K, ch. 440.

"Ngan Luh-shan. He was just contriving the necessary stratagems "to reduce him to submission, and had not yet marched out, when "some days later he saw to his surprise several hundred pigmies, "five to six inches in size, loiter and gambol in his courtyard. He "and his family beat them to death. Next morning quite a troop of "such dwarfs, all in white mourning dress, with lamentations took "away the corpses in funeral cars and coffins, with quite as much "care as is observed at funerals of the gentry; they then made a "grave in the courtyard, and after the burial disappeared into a "hole in the southern wall. In great fear and wonder, Pih Hang "opened the grave, and found an old rat in it. He boiled water "and poured it into the hole, and on digging it up after a while, "found several hundred dead rats. Some ten days afterwards his "whole family was killed, because he had not been victorious" [1].

Of rats infesting the public roads as well armed highwaymen we hear in the following legend: "In the first year of the Wan sui "period (A.D. 695) the roads to Ch'ang-ngan were infested by a "gang of robbers, who concealed themselves in the daytime, and "operated during the night. Every now and again itinerant strangers "were murdered without a trace of the perpetrators being discovered "next day; which disheartened the people so much that they dared "not set out in the morning, even though inns might be reached "in the evening.

"When the matter reached the ears of a certain Taoist doctor "who lodged there in an inn, he said to the crowd: 'to be sure, "these are no men; they must be spectres'. In the dead of night "he provided himself with an antique looking-glass, and took his "post by the roadside to look out for them. On a sudden a troop "of young men appeared, fully armed and accoutred. 'Who stands "there by the road?' they shouted with one voice at the Taoist,

---

[1] 天寶末御史中丞畢杭爲魏州刺史、陷於祿山賊。方尋欲謀歸順而未發、數日於庭中忽見小人、長五六寸數百枚遊戲。自若家人擊殺。明日群小人皆白服而哭、載死者以喪車凶器、一如士人送喪之備、仍於庭中作塚、葬畢遂入南墻穴中。甚驚異之、發其塚、得一死鼠。乃作熱湯沃中、久而掘之、得死鼠數百枚。後十餘日杭以事不免、一門遇害. *Kwang i ki*; K K, ch. 440.

"'do not you care for your life?' but the doctor let his mirror "shine upon them, with the result that they flung down weapons "and shields, and ran off. For some five or seven miles the doctor "pursued them with spells and formulas, until they all ran into "a big hole. He kept watch over it till the morning came, and then "returning to the inn summoned the people to dig up the hole. It "was found to contain over a hundred big rats, which as they swarmed "out were slain to the last. The evil was thereby ended" [1].

Rats may also haunt human dwellings in the shape of other animals. "Li Lin-fu", a high magnate of the eighth century, "was "unwell. In the morning he rose, washed and apparelled himself, "and intending to repair to the Court ordered his men to bring "the letter-bag he was wont to use. Feeling it was heavier than "usual, he opened it, and out sprang two rats, which on reaching "the floor changed immediately into grey dogs. With ferocious "eyes and showing their teeth these beasts regarded him; he "seized his bow and shot at them, on which they vanished; but "Lin-fu was so deeply impressed with this incident that he died "ere a month had passed" [2].

---

[1] 萬歲元年長安道中有群寇、晝伏夜動。行旅往往遭殺害、至明旦略無蹤由、人甚畏懼、不敢晨發及暮至旅次。

有一道士宿於逆旅、聞此事乃謂衆曰、此必不是人、當是怪耳。深夜後遂自於道旁持一古鏡潛伺之。俄有一隊少年至、兵甲完具。齊呵責道士曰、道旁何人、何不顧生命也。道士以鏡照之、其少年棄兵甲奔走。道士逐之、仍誦呪語約五七里、其少年盡入一大穴中。道士守之、至曙復還逆旅、召衆發掘之。有大鼠百餘走出、乃盡殺之。其患乃絕. *Siao siang luh.*

[2] 李林甫有疾。晨起、盥飾、將入朝、命取平日所用書囊。忽覺書囊重于平日、開視之、有二鼠出投于地、卽變爲蒼狗。雄目張牙仰視林甫、林甫取弓射之、隱然卽滅。林甫惡之、不踰月而卒. TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 83. The TS mentions the *Tsih i chi* 集異志 or Record of Collected Marvels as the work from which it has borrowed this tale.

Among the many animals notorious in China for assuming the human shape with the object of enjoying sexual intercourse with men or women, we also find the otter. "In the Wu region", thus runs one of Yü Pao's tales, "there existed at Wu-sih (in the south "of Kiangsu) the great dike of the upper-lake, the warden of "which, Ting Ch'u by name, made his rounds over the dams at "every heavy rainfall. Once when there was abundance of spring "rains, he went out for a tour on the dikes, and was returning "in the evening, when he discovered that he was being followed "by a woman wearing blue upper and nether garments, and "carrying an umbrella of the same colour. 'Officer Ch'u, wait for "me!' she cried, and at first he felt attracted to her and was "minded to wait; but he bethought himself that he had never "seen this being at that place, and that the unexpected woman "in the dark in such rainy weather could not possibly be anything "else than a spectre. He quickened his pace, but on looking "behind him saw that the woman came trotting after him with "a like speed. So he actually took to flight, and on turning round "again, saw her in the distance dive with a plump into the "waves. Away flew her clothes and umbrella, and thus he saw "that she was a big grey otter, and that her dress and umbrella "were mere water-lily leaves. Such anthropomorphoses of that otter "took place frequently with intent to seduce youths" [1].

---

This is a little book attributed to the same Luh Hiun who wrote the *Chi kwai luh* (see p. 252). But in the copy we have of it, we do not find the tale among the eighty-two notes and tales on marvellous matters and events from the Han dynasty to that of T'ang, which it contains. This work occurs also under the title of *Tsih i ki* 集異記; so it must not be confounded with the synonymous production we mentioned on page 243.

[1] 吳郡無錫有上湖大陂、陂吏丁初天每大雨輒循隄防。春盛雨初出行塘、日暮廻、顧有一婦人、上下青衣、戴青緼、追後。呼、初揖待我、初時悵然意欲留俟之、復疑本不見此、今忽有婦人冒陰雨行、恐必鬼物。初便疾走、顧視婦人追之亦急。初因急行走之、轉遠顧視婦人乃自投波中汎然作聲。衣蓋飛散、視之是大蒼獺、衣緼皆荷葉也。此獺化爲人形數媚年少者也. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 18.

— "In Ho-tung, Shang Ch'eu-nu with a young lad collected rushes "on the borders of the lake, and usually spent his nights in a "cottage in a waste field. Once at sundown he saw a young girl "of very beautiful figure and countenance pass by there in a small "boat loaded with rushes. She came up to his cottage for a lodging, "and as he slept with her, he perceived she had a rank smell. "When the woman had enjoyed sexual pleasure, she asked per- "mission to go out, and when out of doors changed into an otter" [1].

— "According to the *Fuh-kien t'ung chi* or General Memoirs "concerning Fuh-kien, there were false rumours abroad in the "35th year of the Kia tsing period (A.D. 1556) about spirits "(tsing) of water-otters shaped like fire-flies, which, if they settled "on the coat of a man, were sure to cause his death. In the "houses in the cities gongs and drums were beaten as if in "defence against gangs of robbers; at night people did not "even prepare their beds, and several Taoist doctors were selling "charms against the evil. The magistrates suspected them of "having invented the matter, and they were on the point of "chastising them, when they escaped, and the apparitions too "occurred no more" [2].

### 6. Domestic Animals in Demonology.

Notwithstanding the general prevalence in China of the domesticated cat, tales about cat-demons are scarce there in literature, so that it is tolerably evident that this class of evil beings has never occupied a pre-eminent place in its superstition. Very interesting

---

[1] 河東常醜奴將一小兒湖邊拔蒲、暮恆宿空田舍中。時日向暝見一少女子、姿容極美、乘小船載蒲徑前。投醜奴舍寄住、因臥覺有臊氣。女已知人意便求出、戶外變爲獺. *I yuen*; TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 79.

[2] 按福建通志嘉靖三十五年民間訛言有海騷(猱)精、狀若螢、著人衣裾必死。城中家擊金鼓若防巨寇、夜不帖席、數道士市符治之。有司疑卽道士所爲也、將置之、法士逸去、怪亦絕. TS, sect. 庶徵, ch. 162.

and instructive, however, is an episode of high court-life in the year 598, described in the Standard Annals, and teaching us that China at that time had her witches believed to employ cat-demons for works of iniquity. It is in the following words that the historian relates it:

"Tuh-hu T'o's character had a tendency towards heresy. Madam Kao, "his maternal grandmother, served a cat-spectre and had therewith "killed her brother-in-law Kwoh Sha-lo, and from her this practice "had entered his dwelling. The emperor had been secretly apprised "of it, but did not believe it.

"It then happened that the empress Hien, and madam Ching, "the consort of Yang Su (see Book I, p. 1406 *seq.*), fell ill simul- "taneously. The physicians, called in to see the patients, declared "unanimously that this was caused by a cat-demon. The emperor, "taking into consideration that Tuh-hu T'o was a younger brother "of that empress by a different mother, and that his wife was a "younger sister of Yang Su by an other mother, concluded that "it must be his work. He gave secret orders to his elder brother "Muh to display his (fraternal) affection and admonish him, and having "sent away his officers in attendance, warned him himself, but T'o "denied everything, and the emperor, displeased with this, reduced "his rank to that of prefect of Ts'ien-cheu; and as he expressed "discontent, he appointed Kao Kung, Su Wei, Hwang-fu Hiao-sü, "and Yang Yuen in commission to bring T'o to justice.

"A female slave of T'o, named Sü O-ni, made the following "confession: The practice came from the house of T'o's mother, "who regularly served cat-spectres; she sacrificed to them at night "on every tszĕ day, because, as she said, tsze corresponds with "the Rat [1], and whenever a cat-spectre had killed somebody, "the possessions of the victim secretly came into the house where "the beast was kept. Once T'o had asked his family for some "liquor, and on his wife answering that she lacked money to "buy it, he had said to O-ni: 'tell the cat-devil to go to the "house of Mr. Yueh and procure us money enough', on which "O-ni had uttered her spells. A few days after that, the cat-spectre "had gone to Yang Su's house. And finally, on the emperor's "return from Ping-cheu, T'o had said to her in the park: 'tell "the cat-spectre to go to the abode of the empress and make "her give me more'; on which she had pronounced her spells

1 See for the explanation on page 987 of Book I.

"as before and the spectre had entered the palace. Now Yang Yuen "in the outer office at the gate sent O-ni away to call the cat-"spectre. That same evening she set out a bowl of fragrant rice-"gruel, and drumming against it with the spoon, exclaimed: 'come "pussy, do not remain in the palace now'. After some time her "countenance turned quite blue, and she moved as if she were trailed "by somebody, and she exclaimed: 'here is the cat-spectre'.

"The emperor now put the matter into the hands of his "Ministers of State. The advice of Niu Hung, lord of Khi-chang, "was: 'when spectral evil is produced by men, its effects may be "stopped by killing those men'. So the emperor gave orders to place "T'o and his wife on an ox-car, and was on the point of ordering "them to commit suicide at home, when T'o's younger brother "Ching, a Chamberlain for the judgment of merits, appeared in "the palace and implored his mercy. The result was that T'o was "granted his life, but he was divested of all his dignities, and his "wife, madam Yang, was made a Buddhist nun. Before that time "a man had lodged a complaint that his mother had been murdered "by the cat-spectre of somebody, but the emperor had considered "this to be ghost-tale nonsense, and sent him away with indigna-"tion; now, however, he ordered the families accused of setting such "spectres to work to be exterminated. T'o died not long after"[1].

---

[1] 獨孤陁性好左道。其外祖母高氏先事猫鬼已殺其舅郭沙羅、因轉入其家。上微聞而不信。會獻皇后及楊素妻鄭氏俱有疾。召醫視之、皆曰此猫鬼疾。上以陁后之異母弟、陁妻楊素之異母妹、由是意陁所爲。陰令其兄穆以情喻之、又避左右諷陁、陁言無有、上不說、左轉蔓州刺史、出怨言、令高熲蘇威皇甫孝緒楊遠等雜案之。

陁婢徐阿尼言、本從陁母家來、常事猫鬼。每以子日夜祀之、言子者鼠也、其猫鬼每殺人者、所死家財物潛移於畜猫鬼家。陁嘗從家中索酒、其妻曰無錢可酤、陁因謂阿尼曰、可令猫鬼向越公家使我足錢、阿尼便呪之。居數日猫鬼向素家。後上初從并州還、陀於園中謂阿泥曰、

This is a valuable illustration, indeed, of the astounding credulity which in those times swayed even crowned head and ministers. The Standard Annals teach us, that in the following century imperial consorts implicitly believed also in the possibility of persons changing themselves after death into cats, to take revenge upon those who were their persecutors during life. Thus they relate how Siao Liang-ti [1], a favourite court-lady of Kao Tsung and of his consort Wang, was disgraced together with this empress, in consequence of the calumnies and intrigues of Chao-i [2], who supplanted the latter in the imperial favours and became the famous empress Wu or Tseh-t'ien (comp. p. 591). The two women being accused by her of sorcery, "the emperor decreed that they should be degraded "to the rank of commoners and imprisoned in the palace, and that "the empress' mother and brothers with Liang-ti's whole clan should be "banished to the south of the Sierra (to Kwangtung and Kwangsi). "On this, Hü King-tsung came forward with a memorial to "demonstrate that Jen-yiu (the late father of the deposed empress) "had no extra merits, so that his whole clan ought to be exter- "minated and his coffin hacked in pieces because of that offence "now committed against the Court. A resolution then was issued "to the effect that Jen-yiu was divested of all his (former) offices and "dignities; the empress and Liang-ti were killed by the empress Wu. "Before this, the emperor's thoughts had reverted to his former "consort and he had proceeded to the place of her confinement.

---

可令猫鬼向皇后所、使多賜吾物、阿尼復呪之、遂入宮中。楊遠乃於門下外省遣阿尼呼猫鬼。阿尼於是夜中置香粥一盆、以匙扣而呼曰、猫女可來、無住宮中。久之阿尼色正青若被牽拽者、云猫鬼已至。

上以其事下公卿、奇章公牛弘曰、妖由人興、殺其人可以絶矣。上令犢車載陀夫妻、將賜死於其家、陀弟司勳侍中整詣闕求哀。於是免陀死、除名、以其妻楊氏爲尼。先是有人訟其母爲人猫鬼所殺者、上以爲妖妄、怒而遣之、及此詔誅被訟行猫鬼家。陀未幾而卒. History of the North, ch. 61, ll. 10 *seq.* See also the Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 79, ll. 4 *seq.*

[1] 蕭良娣. [2] 昭儀.

"Here he was accosted by her; 'Your Majesty', said she, 'is so "kind as to remember our former happy days; when I die, "and revive to behold the sun and the moon again, then, I "pray, make here (in the palace) an abode for me, to which my "heart may revert'. 'I will do so immediately', was the imperial "answer, but no sooner did the empress Wu know of it than "she compelled him to order the two women to receive a hundred "lashes and to have their hands and feet chopped off; these she "tied together, and cast them into a wine-jar, saying she wanted "to make the two ladies tipsy to their very bones. After some days "they were dead, and then their corpses were mutilated. When "the emperor's order reached them, Liang-ti cursed their enemy, "saying: 'the vulpine tricks of Wu even here hover over us, but I "shall become a cat, and Wu shall be changed by me into a rat, "and then I will throttle her in vengeance for the wrong she has "done me'. The empress was informed of this threat, and forbade "any cats to be kept in her six palace-buildings" [1].

A demon of a non-descript hazy shape, turning out to be a kind of horse, is represented to us in a tradition recorded in the Memoirs concerning the District of Wu-ch'ing, which forms a part of the province of Chehkiang. Its hero is a famous warrior who played a leading part in the bloody troubles connected with the downfall of the Ts'in dynasty in the third century before our era. "When "Hiang Yü beat a retreat before his enemies in the Wu region, "he crossed a broad stream in which a strange beast lived, that

---

[1] 帝遂下詔廢后良娣皆爲庶人、囚宮中、后母兄良娣宗族悉流嶺南。許敬宗又奏仁祐無宅功、以宮掖罪宜夷宗、仁祐應斬棺。有詔盡奪仁祐官爵、而后及良娣俄爲武后所殺。初帝念后、問行至囚所。曰、陛下幸念疇日、使妾死更生、復見日月、乞署此爲回心院。帝曰、朕卽有處置、武后知之、促詔杖二人百、剔其手足、反接投釀甕中、曰令二嫗骨醉。數日死、殊其尸。初詔旨至、良娣罵曰、武氏狐媚翻覆至此、我後爲猫、使武氏爲鼠、吾當扼其喉以報。后聞、詔六宮毋畜猫. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 76, fl. 6 *seq.*

"every morning and every evening intercepted some people with "its tail and devoured them. He placed himself astride of this "brute, grasped its neck with one hand and threw the other "around a tree, several big stems being thus uprooted in succession. "When daylight broke, they saw that it was a horse, covered all "over with the figures of a black dragon" [1].

The following tale furnishes a good illustration of the belief that donkeys are apt to haunt mankind in indistinct forms: — "In the first year of the T'ien pao period (A.D. 742) there lived "in Ch'ang-ngan, in the village of Yen-sheu, one Wang Hiun. "One night some three persons had assembled in his dwelling "to have a meal. They had just finished it, when on a sudden "a big arm appeared under the candle-light. Hiun and his "friends were startled, yet they inspected the thing together, "and saw that it was black and very hairy. After a while "a voice was heard beyond the light: 'sir, you have guests, "but may I call on you for one moment? I want some meat, "put some into my hand'. Hiun, unable to discern from whom "these words came, forthwith gave some; on which the arm was "withdrawn.

"Shortly after it was stretched out again. 'I was so pleased, "sir, that you gave me some meat', said the voice; 'it is almost "finished now, give me some more'; and again Hiun put some meat "into that hand, and again it vanished. Now the men after some "deliberation concluded that it must be of a spectre, and that "they should on its return hack off the arm. Some moments "passed, and there it was again; they grasped their swords, and "they hewed it off. As it fell to the ground, the body of the "spectre made away; and the men stooping down to look at the "arm, perceived that it was the leg of a donkey, and that quite "a stream of blood stained the soil.

"Next morning they followed the bloody print, in order to find "the brute. It had run straight into a house in the hamlet. The "inmates whom they interrogated, told them that they had had "in their house an ass for more than twenty years, which had

---

[1] 項羽避仇吳中過大溪、有異物焉、早暮以尾擊人吞之。羽跨其背、一手扼頸、一手抱樹、連拔大樹數章。天曙視之馬也、徧體黑龍紋. *Wu-ch'ing hien chi* 烏程縣志, quoted in the TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 98.

"lost a leg that night, apparently by a sword-blow, and that this "case had just caused them much consternation. Hiun told them "circumstantially what had befallen him, on which they killed the "beast and ate it" [1].

Thus again we see that the wounding of a beast in human shape entails a similar mutilation of the corresponding part of its animal body (comp. page 549). To pass now to other domestic animals.

The ancient Chinese, as we have seen on page 536, gave a goat-form to the spectres inhabiting the ground, probably because they took the written form of the name f e n-y a n g of those beings for ideographic characters. In the literature of later ages those ground-demons no longer occur in a goat's shape, and the rôle of the goat merely amounts to that of other animals, that is to say, under human or indistinct ghostly forms it plays antics and dangerous tricks, the effects of which may, however, be frustrated by human sagacity, wisdom and intrepidity.

Yü Pao relates:

"When Sung Ting-poh of Nan-yang (Honan pr.) was young, he, "while walking in the dark, met with a spectre. He interrogated it, "and it said: 'I am a spectre, but who are you, sir?' 'I am also "a spectre', said Ting-poh, to deceive it. 'And where are you going?' "the ghost asked again. 'To the market of Yuen', was the reply.

---

[1] 天寶初有王薰者居長安延壽里中。嘗一夕有三數輩挈食會薰所居。既飯食、燭前忽有巨臂出燭影下。薰與諸友且懼、相與觀之、其臂色黑而有毛甚多。未幾影外有語曰、君有會、不能一見乎耶、願得少肉、置掌中。薰莫測其由、即與之、其臂遂引去。

少頃又伸其臂。曰、幸君與我肉、今食且盡、願君更賜之、薰又置肉於掌中、已而又去。於是相與謀曰、此必怪也、伺其再來當斷其臂。頃之果來、拔劍斬之。臂既墮、其身亦遠、俯而視之、乃一驢足、血流滿地。

明日因以血蹤尋之。直入里中民家。即以事問民、民曰家養一驢且二十年矣、夜失一足、有似刀而斷者焉、方駭之。薰具言其事、即殺而食之.

*Süen-shih chi.*

"'I am likewise going there', rejoined the other; and they walked "a few miles together, when the spectre remarked: 'we go too slow; "what do you think of carrying each other on our shoulders in "turn?' 'Very good!' retorted Ting-poh.

"The ghost was the first to carry him. After a few miles it "said: 'you are too heavy to be taken for a spectre, sir'. 'I did "not become a spectre till quite recently, hence I am still heavy', "and with this answer he shouldered the spectre, which weighed "almost nothing. Both had had their turn two or three times, "when Ting-poh observed: 'being a new spectre, I do not know "what we have to shun and to fear'. 'There is nothing we dislike "so much as human spittle', was the reply.

"Thus again they proceeded, till they come to some water. "Ting-poh bade the spectre to wade it first, and listened sharply, "but he heard no noise at all. He himself, however, while wading "caused the water to gurgle, which led the spectre to say: 'what "is that noise caused by?' 'By the fact that one who has died "only a short time ago is not versed in the crossing of streams; "do not feel astonished about me'.

"When close to the market of Yuen, Ting-poh, who just then had "the spectre on his shoulders, suddenly grasped it. Heedless of its "loud piercing shrieks, he bound it with a rope, and without paying "any further attention to its words straightway took it to that market. "Here on being put down it changed into a goat. He spat on the "animal, lest it should re-assume its other shape, sold it for fifteen "hundred coins, and passed on" [1].

---

[1] 南陽宋定伯年少時夜行逢鬼。問之、鬼言、我是鬼、鬼問、汝復誰。定伯誑之言、我亦鬼。鬼問、欲至何所。答曰、欲至宛市。鬼言、我亦欲至宛市、遂行數里、鬼言、步行太遲、可共遞相擔何如。定伯曰、大善。

鬼便先擔定伯。數里鬼言、卿太重將非鬼也。定伯言、我新鬼、故身重耳、定伯因復擔鬼、鬼略無重。如是再三、定伯復言、我新鬼、不知有何所畏忌。鬼答言、惟不喜人唾。

於是共行道遇水。定伯令鬼先渡、聽之了然無聲音。定伯自渡漕漼作聲、鬼復言、何以有聲。

In this tale it is the clever, bold man who outwits the spectre. In the following, however, the rôles are reversed, and spectres under the shape of goats delude the man:

"Chu Hwa, a Loh-yang man, used to make a living by trading "in goats. In the first year of the Ching yuen period of the "T'ang dynasty (A.D. 785) he had travelled westward as far as "Pin-ning, to exchange his goats for others, when a man saw him "and said: 'you try to enrich yourself by dealing in goats... "well, if you change yours for bigger ones, you will get a smaller "number, and if you exchange them for smaller ones, you get more "of them; in the latter case your gains will be great'. Hwa agreed "to this opinion, and said: 'if you know somebody who has little "kids, I will exchange all my goats against them' [1].

"After a few days, that same man introduced to him an owner "of goats, to whom he parted with his own for one hundred and "ten young kids. With his animals big and small in one flock, "he returned to Loh-yang, but at the Pass-gate the kids he had "obtained by that transaction one evening changed into spectres all "at once, and ran away. Terribly scared, and not understanding what "might be the cause of that phenomenon, Chu Hwa returned "the next morning to Pin-ning to see the aforesaid owner of "those kids. In the heat of his indignation he was about to "arrest him and take him before the magistrates, when the man "asked: 'what wrong did I do?' — 'You gave me those kids in "exchange for mine; I drove them to the Pass-gate, and they all "changed there into spectres; must not this be black art on your "part?' — 'And you', rejoined the man, 'you traffic in goats by

---

定伯曰、新死不習渡水故耳、勿怪吾也。

行欲至宛市定伯便擔鬼著肩上、急執之。鬼大呼聲咋咋然、索下不復聽之、徑至宛市中。下著地、化爲一羊。便賣之、恐其變化唾之、得錢千五百、乃去. *Shou shen ki*, chap. 16.

[1] 洛陽人朱化者以販羊爲業。唐貞元初西行抵邠寧、廻易其羊、有一人見化謂曰、君市羊求利。。。易之大者其羊必少、易之小者其羊必多、羊多則利厚也。化然之、乃告其人曰、爾知有小羊、我當盡易之。

"whole droves, thus destroying lives for the purpose of gain; do "not you know or remember that this is the acme of all crimes "against Universal Heaven? you entirely overlook your own deeds, "and against mine you turn your anger; I am a spectre; I shall "set those goats to catch and murder you'. With these words he "vanished, and Hwa was so terror-struck that he by his own hand "died at Pin-ning" [1].

To appropriate surreptitiously the worship and sacrifices destined by people for their patron divinities, is a trick played not by foxes only, but also by goats or bucks. Yü Pao tells us, that under "the Han dynasty there lived a man in the Ts'i region, named "Liang Wen, so devoted to Taoism that he had set apart in his "house a room with three or four compartments for sacrificing "to a god. A black curtain hung there above its throne, and for "more than ten years it had always resided behind it. Once when "a sacrifice was being offered to it, a human voice was heard "behind the curtain: 'I am the prince of the high hills', it said; "'I am able to consume great quantities of food and liquor, and "in curing diseases I work with good results; Wen, you have "served me for a series of years with the utmost reverence, so "you may come behind this curtain now; the god is drunken'. "Wen begged permission to respectfully view the face of the god. "'Give me your hand', was the answer; he stretched it out, and

[1] 其人數日乃引一羊主至、化遂易得小羊百十口。大小羊相雜爲羣、迴歸洛陽、行之關下、一夕所易之小羊盡化爲鬼而走。化大駭、莫測其由、明復往邠寧、見前言小羊之人。化甚怒、將執之詣官府、其人曰、我何罪也。化曰、爾以小羊迴易、我驅至關下、盡化爲鬼、得非汝用妖術乎。其人曰、爾販賣群羊、以求厚利殺害性命、不知記極罪已彌天矣、自終不悟而反怒我、我則鬼也、當與群羊執爾而戮之。言訖而滅、化大驚懼、尋死於邠寧焉. *Khi shi luh* 奇事錄 or Record of Strange Matters, quoted in the T'S. sect. 禽虫, ch. 114. Probably it is the work mentioned in the Catalogue of the New Books of the T'ang Dynasty (ch. 59, l. 20) as *Ta T'ang khi shi ki* 大唐奇事記, Writings on Strange Matters of the Great T'ang Dynasty, in ten chapters, written by Li Yin 李隱 in the Hien Tung period (860—874).

"caught hold of the beard on the god's chin. It was a very long "beard; gently he twisted it around his hand, and then suddenly "gave a tug, and — the bleat of a buck was heard from the "throne of the god. The affrighted bystanders sprang up and "helped Wen to pull, and behold, it was a goat of Yuen Kung-lu, "which had been lost seven or eight years ago, and was never "traced. Now they put an end to its tricks by killing it" [1].

The pig occurs in Chinese demonology with much the same attributes as the fox and the dog, inasmuch as shrewd specimens of its kind may assume the forms of women, to bewitch the other sex by their charms and indulge their passions. We learn this from the following tales:

"Li Fen was a man of the Shang-yü district in Yueh-cheu. He was "fond of country scenery, and therefore dwelt on mount Szĕ-ming. "Here below stood the farm of the commoner Chang Lao, whose "family was very rich, and was interested in breeding pigs, which "for several years they set at liberty, instead of butchering them. "In the last year of the Yung hwo period (A.D. 356), on the "day of the full moon in the middle month of autumn, Li Fen "was pacing up and down his inner courtyard in the moonshine, "diverting himself with playing on the lute, when suddenly he "heard some one without the gate heave sighs of admiration, "alternated by exclamations and laughter. Unable to guess from "whom these sounds proceeded, he asked: 'who is there so late "in the night at this country-house?' 'I am charmed by the "nice voice of a talented man', replied a smiling woman. He "opened the gate, and his eyes fell on a regular beauty, quite "peerless, but who, as he perceived, had a deep black colour about "her mouth. 'Are you not a ghost, or an immortal?' he asked. "'No', she replied; 'I am the daughter of Chang, who dwells here

---

[1] 漢齊人梁文好道、其家有神祠建室三四間。座上施皁帳、常在其中積十數年。後因祀事、帳中忽有人語、自呼高山君、大能飲食、治病有驗、文奉事甚肅積數年、得進其帳中、神醉。文乃乞得奉見顏色。謂文曰、授手來、文納手、得持其頤髯鬚。甚長、文漸繞手、卒然引之、而聞作羊聲座中。驚起、助文引之、乃袁公路家羊也、失之七八年、不知所在。殺之乃絕. *Shen shen ki*, ch. 18.

"in the hills; this night my parents are attending a feast in the "village to the east, and in the mean time I am coming here "furtively to pay you a visit . . . . . , . . . . "They drew the curtains, and did no more pay any attention to the "lamp; and the lute was dumb.

"On a sudden the morning cock announced daybreak. The "woman rose and took her leave, but Fen, quite in love and un- "willing to part with her, stole one of her blue felt shoes, and "concealed it in his clothes' basket. Then, quite drowsy, he fell "asleep. The woman caressed him, and sought her shoe, wailing "and weeping. 'Please do not keep it; I will come back here this "evening; if you keep it I am sure to die; respectfully I entreat "you to be so kind as to restore it to me'. But Fen refused to "give it up, and fell fast asleep; so the woman went away with "lamentations and in tears.

"Fen awoke with a shudder; the woman was not there, but he "saw the floor before his bed stained all over with fresh blood. "In his astonishment he opened the basket, and saw that the "shoe had changed into the hard scale of a pig's toe. His fears "were unbounded. He followed the bloody track downhill, and it "led him straightway into the sty of Mr. Chang, where the pig, on "seeing him come, grunted at him with an angry glare. He told "the whole matter to Chang with all the details, and this gentle- "man, affrighted and astonished, boiled the beast. Fen gave up "this country-house for another place to ramble in"[1].

---

[1] 李汾越州上虞縣人也。惟悅山水、乃居四明山。山下有百姓張老莊、其家大富、好養豕、積年不宰而縱之。永和末中秋月圓李汾步月於中庭、撫琴自適、忽聽外有人嗟嘆之聲、或言或笑。李汾不測其由、詰曰、何人夜久至此山院。女笑曰、惟好秀才之妙聲。汾開門而看之、見一女端正無比、惟覺口帶高緇黑色。汾問娘子莫是神仙乎。女對曰、非也、兒是此山中張家女、今夕父母作客東村、竊來奉謁。。。下帷、背燈、琴瑟已盡。

忽爾晨雞報曉。女起告辭、汾戀慕惜別卽偷女青氈履子一隻、藏衣籠中。汾恍忽睡着。女撫

Yü Pao further relates: "A member of the gentry under the Tsin "dynasty, bearing the surname Wang, lived in the Wu region. "Journeying home, he came to a bend (in the river), where, as it "was growing dusk, the crew pulled up the boat against a large "dam. Here he beheld a maid of seventeen or eighteen, whom "he called, and spent the night with her. At daybreak he untied a "metal jingle and fastened it to her arm; then he told his men to "follow her, and when they came to her house they found no "maid, but on passing the pig-sty saw a sow with that jingle on "its ankle" [1].

Let us finally quote an interesting tale showing that buried domestic animals, if their carcasses do not decay, may haunt people as spectres: "A villager of T'ung-tsing, situated in Kiang-"ning, had kept a cow for more than ten years, in which time "it had given birth to twenty-eight calves, thus yielding much "profit to its owner. It was now too old to draw the plough, "and all the butchers asked him to sell it, but the owner could "not make up his mind to thus dispose of the animal. He "entrusted it to a boy, to take devout care of it till it should "die a natural death, and after its death he buried it in the "ground. The next night a tapping was heard by him outside his "house-gate. This occurred for several nights in succession, without "it occurring to him that the cow was the cause; but when after a

---

汾、悲泣求覓履子。願無留此、今夕再期、若收之妾身必死、今拜謝君子幸無留。汾竟不與而睡、其女號泣而去。

汾驚而覺、不見其女、只見床前鮮血滿地。汾心異之、乃開籠、觀其履子已化爲猪蹄殼。乃怕懼不已。尋血下山、直至張公圈內、其猪還見汾來、嗔目咆哮。已而汾具以前事告於張公、公聞之驚怪、遂烹之。汾乃棄此山院、別遊他邑矣. *Sheu shen ki*, the edition in eight chapters; ch. 7.

[1] 晉有一士人、姓王、家在吳郡。還至曲阿、日暮引船上當大埭。見埭上有一女子、年十七八、便呼之留宿。至曉解金鈴、繫其臂、使人隨、至家都無女人、因過猪欄中見母猪、臂有金鈴. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 18.

"month the haunting became still worse, even lowing being heard "and the sound of hoofs, the villagers all conceived they had to "do with apparitions of that cow. They disinterred it, and found "the carcass undecayed. Its eyes glared as when it lived, and "in its hoofs rice-ears were sticking, so that it evidently had "broken out of the ground that night. The enraged owner seized "a sword and hacked off its four feet; then he slit up its belly "and poured out dung and filth over it; and the beast thereafter "remained quiet. They opened the ground again, and found the "cow in a state of decay" [1].

### 7. Reptile-spectres.

Fei Ch'ang-fang, the matchless wonderworker, who, as we saw on page 582, could discern horse-riding foxes through their human disguise, is also stated in the Standard History of his time to have unmasked and utterly baffled a horrid tortoise-spectre. "In Jü-nan "there appeared year by year a spectre, which, assuming the "attire of the Governor, haunted the drummers at the gate of the "mansion of this grandee, much to the distress of the inhabi- "tants of that region. Once the spectre fell in with Ch'ang-fang, "who just then called on the Governor. Horror and fear nailed it "to the spot; then advancing, it put off its official dress and cap, "knocked its head against the ground, and begged for its life. "Ch'ang-fang reprimanded it; 'and now', he concluded, 'forth- "with resume your old shape here in the central courtyard'. "Immediately it turned into an old tortoise as large as a car-wheel,

---

[1] 江寧銅井村人畜一牝牛十餘年、生犢凡二十八口、主人頗得其利。牛老、不能耕、宰牛者咸請買之、主人不忍。遣童喂養俟其自斃、乃掩埋土中。是夜聞門外有擊撞聲。如是者連夕、初不意卽此牛、月餘爲祟更甚、聞吼聲蹄蹻、於是一村之人皆疑此牛作怪。掘驗之、牛尸不壞。兩目閃閃如生、四蹄爪皆有稻芒、似夜間破土而出者。主人大怒、取刀斷其四蹄、并剖其腹以糞穢沃瀋之、嗣後寂然。再啓土視之、牛朽腐矣. *Tsze puh yu*, ch. 14.

"with a neck a chang long. He ordered the monster to go to "the Governor and avow its crimes, and he handed a letter to it, "containing some order to the king of the Koh dyke. Knocking "its head against the ground, the spectre with a flood of tears "accepted the letter, stuck it in the ground beside that dyke, wound "its neck around it, and expired" [1].

— "In the Khai hwang period (A.D. 581—601) the apartments "and courts of the Palace were haunted every night by a man who "teased and provoked the waiters. The intendants reported it to "the emperor, who said: 'the watch kept at the gates is so strict; "I do not understand where anybody could possibly pass and "enter; it must be an evil spirit. Should you meet with it', he "told the waiters, 'then cut it down'. Thus, when a being like "a man appeared in the night and mounted their couch, they "drew their swords and struck. It was as if the blows fell upon "dry bones; the thing tumbled from the couch and ran away, the "servants after it, and it plunged into a pond. Next day the "emperor ordered this pond to be drained, and then a tortoise "was found in it, over a foot in diameter, with sword-cuts on its "back. They killed it, and the matter was herewith finished" [2].

With sundry other animals, tortoises have been the bugbears of East Asia as authors of dangerous diseases. "In days of yore", Tʿao Tsʿien relates, "a man was smitten with disease in his

---

[1] 汝南歲歲常有魅、僞作太守章服、詣府門椎鼓者、郡中患之。時魅適來而逢長房爲謁府君。惶懼不得退、便前、解衣冠、叩頭乞活。長房呵之云、便於中庭正汝故形。卽成老鼈也、大如車輪、頸長一丈。長房復令就太守服罪、付其一札以勅葛陂君。魅叩頭、流涕、持札植於陂邊、以頸繞之而死. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 112, II, l. 13.

[2] 開皇中掖庭宮每夜有人來挑宮人。宮司以聞、帝曰、門衞甚嚴、人何從而入、當是妖精耳。因戒宮人曰、若逢但斫之。其後有物如人夜來登牀、宮人抽刀斫之。若中枯骨、其物落牀而走、宮人逐之、因入池而沒。明日帝令涸池、得一龜、徑尺餘、其上有刀迹。殺之、遂絶. Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 22, l. 15.

"abdomen, together with a slave of his. All attempts to cure them "were vain. When the slave was dead, they cut open his belly "and examined it, and found a white tortoise in it with very "bright red eyes. They poured (extracts of) poisonous herbs over "the beast and put such herbs into its beak; but nothing could "harm or even affect it, and they tied it to the leg of a couch.

"Unexpectedly a visitor arrived to see the patient. He rode a "white horse, the urine of which bespattered the tortoise. The "reptile took fright and sought to escape quickly from the urine, "but being tied up, it could not get away. It retracted its head, "neck and feet into its shell, and the sick man, who saw it, said "to his son: 'perhaps my disease may be cured with such urine'. "They poured some urine of a white horse over the tortoise by "way of experiment, and forthwith dissolved some in several pints "of water; and the patient taking in this way more than a pint "of urine by potions, was cured thoroughly" [1].

Tortoises may be extremely dangerous also when hidden in the ground, and people have been suddenly smitten with disease and other evil by passing overhead. "Li Tsung was Governor of Ch'u, "when within his territory a Buddhist nun, who made her round "in the market, suddenly sank to the ground, sat down, and could "not be made to move. For many days there occurred cases then "of people who could not eat or speak, so that the officials informed "Li Tsung of it. He ordered the military to carry the nun away "and dig on the spot, and they found there a huge tortoise, some "feet in length. When they had taken the beast into the water, "the nun recovered" [2].

---

[1] 昔有一人與奴同時得腹痕病。治不能愈。奴既死乃剖腹視之、得一白鼈、赤眼甚鮮明。乃試以諸毒藥澆灌之、并內藥於鼈口、悉無損動、乃係鼈於床脚。

忽有一客來看之。乘一白馬、既而馬溺濺鼈。鼈乃惶駭欲疾走避溺、因繫之不得去。乃縮藏頭頸足焉、病者察之、謂其子曰、吾病或可以救矣。乃試取白馬溺以灌鼈上、須臾便消成數升水、病者乃頓服升餘白馬溺、病豁然愈. *Shen shen heu ki*, ch. 3.

[2] 李宗爲楚州刺史、郡中有尼方行於市、忽據

The t'o, a species of gavial or alligator stated by some native authors to attain a considerable length, is another beast with the doubtful reputation of changing itself sometimes into a woman to seduce lewd men, and acting as a devil of sickness. "Chang Fuh, "a Yung-yang man, while travelling home by boat, one evening "saw by the river-bank in a waste part of the country a maid with "very beautiful features, who moved towards him in a small "canoe and said: 'it is dark, I am afraid of tigers; I dare not "travel by night'. 'Where are you going', asked Fuh, 'that you "travel in such a thoughtless way without a rain-hat on? be quick, "get into my boat; here you will not get wet from the rain'. "After some friendly discourse, the woman entered Fuh's sleeping-"berth, tying her canoe to his boat. After the third watch the rain "cleared off, and by the moonlight Fuh perceived that the woman "was a big gavial, which was using his arm for a sleeping-pillow. "He sprang to his feet with fright, and was about to seize the "beast, but it quickly ran away, plunged into the water, and swam "to the canoe, which was a rotten stump of a tree, over a chang "in length" [1].

— "A prefect of the Kiai district had a daughter, who was "under the influence of demonry. The doctors tried their arts "upon her, with no result. Then the father applied to one Tung Fung "to cure her, promising that if he managed to restore her health "she should become his wife. Fung accepted this proposal, and "called forth a white gavial, several chang long. It crawled "over the ground to the door of the sick girl, where Fung "told the attendants to kill it with their swords. Immediately the

---

地而坐、不可推挽。不食不語者累日所由、司以告宗。命武士扶起、掘其地、得大龜長數尺。送之水中、其尾乃愈. *Ki shen luh*; KK, 472.

[1] 滎陽人張福船行還、野水邊夜有一女子、容色甚美、自乘小船來投福、云、日暮、畏虎、不敢夜行。福曰、汝何往作此輕行無雨笠、駛可入船就避雨。因共相調、遂入就福船寢、以所乘小舟繫福船邊。三更許雨晴月照、福視婦人乃是一大鼉、枕臂而臥。福驚起、欲執之、遽走入水、向小舟、是一枯槎段長丈餘. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 19.

"girl's health was restored, and he accepted her as his wife" [1].

— "The Buddhist monk Chuh-yao had obtained a spell posses-
"sing divine power, which enabled him to completely overpower
"demonry. The unmarried daughter of the prince of Kwang-ling
"fell sick under the influence of demonry, and Yao entered the house
"to cure her. With closed eyes he upbraided the spectre; 'thou old
"devil', he exclaimed, 'why dost thou forget to behave in accordance
"with the Tao and dost attack men?' Upon these words the girl
"loudly wailed; 'they are murdering my husband!' she cried, while
"the spectre beside her exclaimed: 'my last hour has now come'.
"Then in an outburst of sobs and sighs it said: 'against such
"godly power I cannot fight', and changed into an old gavial,
"which ran out into the courtyard. Here Yao ordered it to be beaten
"to death" [2].

The bites of some Ophidians being virulent or mortal, it is rather natural that we should find the snake in China among the many animals with whose forms evil spectres occasionally invest themselves. Tales of snake-demons are remarkably numerous there. They tell of victims to the wrath of snakes, incurring death, illness or misfortune, either themselves alone, or with their families; in some legends we hear of such catastrophes brought about without any provocation whatever. But impartiality compels us to avow, that according to at least as many stories, apparitions of vipers and serpents have proved to be propitious.

Like spectres in general, snake-demons appear in Chinese myth as instruments of punishment. Thus, towards the close of the reign of the Tsin dynasty such a being foreboded and prepared the ruin

---

[1] 解縣令有女、爲精邪所魅。醫療不効。父投董奉治之、若得女愈當以侍巾櫛。奉然之、卽召得一白鼉、長數丈。陸行詣病者門、奉使侍者斬之。女病卽愈、奉遂納女爲妻. *Shen sien chwen*, chapter VI.

[2] 沙門僧竺瑤得神呪、尤能治邪。廣陵王家女病邪、瑤治之入門。瞑目罵云、老魅不念守道而干犯人。女乃大哭、云、人殺我夫、魅在其側曰、吾命盡於今。因歔欷又曰、此神不可與爭、乃成老鼉、走出庭中。瑤令撲殺之也. *Chi kwai luh*; K K, ch. 468.

of Chu-koh Chʿang-min [1], a bold warrior who had routed many an army, but indulged in such insatiable rapacity in his territory, that his discontented subjects murdered him along with the principal members of his family. "After having become wealthy "and famous", so runs the Standard History of his time, "he "was always frightened out of his sleep some ten nights in one "month, and then skipped about as if fighting with somebody. "Mao Sin-chi once passing the night with him, saw him in such "a panic, and asked him what was the matter. 'I see a beast, "quite black and hairy, but I cannot discern any legs of it; "its uncommon strength is more than mine, I cannot prevail over it'. "After this it returned several times, and everywhere in the house "the head of a snake appeared on the pillars and in the rafters "of the roof. Chʿang-min told his men to hang up swords there "(to frighten it), and to strike at the monster; but it regularly "recoiled before those weapons, to re-appear as soon as they were "withdrawn. They beat it also with washing-mallets. It spoke "with the inmates as if it were a man, but nobody could under-"stand it. A huge hand some seven or eight feet long was then "seen on the wall with a wrist several spans thick, but it vanished "entirely when he gave orders to strike at it. Not long after this, "Chʿang-min was murdered" [2].

But not only the wicked were in old China persecuted by demoniacal serpents. The *Tʿai-pʿing kwang ki* gives us a legend about such a monster having haunted no less a worthy than Confucius. "Yen Hwui and Tszĕ-lu were seated at the gate of the sage, "when a spectre came and tried to call on him. Its eyes beamed "like suns, and at that moment it looked so awesome that

---

[1] 諸葛長民.

[2] 初長民富貴之後、常一月中輒十數夜眠中驚起、跳踉如與人相打。毛修之嘗與同宿、見之駭愕、問其故。長民答曰、正見一物、甚黑而有毛、脚不分明、奇健非我、無以制之。其後來數轉、屋中柱及椽枏間悉見有蛇頭。令人以刀懸斫、應刃隱藏、去輒復出。又擣衣杵。相與語如人、聲不可解。於壁見有巨手長七八尺、臂大數圍、令斫之、豁然不見。未幾伏誅. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 85, l. 10.

"Tszĕ-lu lost his senses: his lips stiffened, and he could not utter "a sound, but Yen Yuen (Yen Hwui) took his shoes, his club and "his sword, stepped to the front, and seized the spectre by its hips. "On this it changed into a snake, which he slew immediately "with his sword. The Master came out to see what happened, "and said with a sigh: 'the bold man has no fear, and wisdom "is not misled; the wise man is not bold, and the bold does not "always possess wisdom'" [1].

A ghastly tale of a huge serpent deceiving under a human shape a whole family with the object of gratifying its lusts on an innocent girl, is recounted by T'ao Ts'ien. "In the T'ai yuen period "of the Tsin dynasty, a member of the gentry married a girl in a "neighbouring village. The time fixed for the nuptials having come, "the family of the bridegroom sent out their men to fetch the "bride, and the relations of the latter let her go, but sent her "foster-mother to accompany her. The procession reached a double "gate and a series of halls, as if it were the mansion of a prince. "Torches flared before the pillars, and a slave maiden, gorgeously "apparelled, kept watch beside them. And the back apartment, "was furnished with curtains and tapestry of great beauty.

"The night came, and the maid embraced her nurse, weeping "silently. Then stealthily the matron passed her hand over her "behind the curtains, and felt a snake as thick as a pillar of "several spans, coiled around the bride from head to feet. Horror-"struck she ran out of the house, and saw that the slave maid "charged with the torches at the pillars was a smaller serpent, and "that the torch-lights were snake-eyes" [2].

---

[1] 顏回子路共坐於夫子之門、有鬼魅求見孔子。其目若合日、其時甚偉、子路失魄、口噤不得言、顏淵乃納履杖劍、前捲握其腰。於是形化成蛇、卽斬之。孔子出視、歎曰、勇者不懼、智不惑、智者不勇、勇者不必有智. Chapter 456.

[2] 晉太元中有士人嫁女於近村者。至時夫家遣人來迎、女家好遣發、又令女乳母送之。既至重門累閣、擬於王侯廊。柱下有燃火、一婢子嚴粧直守。後房帷帳甚美。

至夜女抱乳母、涕泣而口不得言。乳母密於

We find the snake as a devil of disease as early as the writings of the Han dynasty. These relate, that "in the time of the emperor "Chang (A.D. 76—89) there lived one Sheu Kwang-heu, who could "prosecute and punish all k w e i and m e i, ordering them to fetter "themselves and to render their forms visible. A fellow villager of "his had a wife, smitten with sickness by a m e i. Kwang-heu "arraigned this being, and found a large snake of several c h a n g, "dead outside the gate" [1]. Variations on this theme are not unfrequent in books of earlier and later time.

Old and numerous also are the tales of men and women who, having fallen ill, vomited snakes or vipers. And no wonder, for rustic simplicity, by stretch of fancy, would at all times have readily exaggerated intestine worms of all sorts to the bulk of snakes. In the *Lieh sien ch'wen*, which may have been written under the Han dynasty or shortly after it, it is related of Yuen Suh [2], a famous seller of drugs and nodules with universal curative power, "that the prince of Ho-kien, who had constipation, bought "drugs of him and took them, with the effect that he excreted "more than ten snakes" [3]. This maleficent vermin does not in China always glide into the human body in a gentle way or imperceptibly; they sometimes make their entrance with rough violence, raging and gnawing inside with ferocity. Peculiarly instructive on this head is the case of "one Ts'in Chen, a villager "of P'eng-hwang in Khüh-o, into whose brains a serpent-like beast "worked its way. When it came, he scented a foul stench; there-"upon it bored through his nose and coiled itself up in his head; "he perceived a buzzing sound, and distinctly heard a crunching, "as if something were gnawing at his brains. Some days afterwards "the thing left his head, but suddenly it came back: Ts'in Chen "this time tied his handkerchief before his nose and his mouth,

---

帳中以手潛摸之、得一蛇如數圍柱、纏其女從足至頭。乳母驚走出外、柱下守燈婢子悉是小蛇、燈火乃是蛇眼. *Sheu shen heu ki*, ch. 10.

[1] 初章帝時有壽光侯者能劾百鬼衆魅、令自縛見形。其鄉人有婦、爲魅所病。侯爲劾之、得大蛇數丈、死於門外. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 112, II, l. 17.

[2] 元俗.

[3] 河間王病瘕、買藥服之、下蛇十餘頭.

"thus preventing it from getting into those apertures, and for "several years nothing ailed him, except a pressure in his head"[1].

There are also instances on record of snakes having caused illness by sending their souls into the bodies of their victims. "In the district of P'i, a commoner caught on the bank of a ditch "at the south wall of the city, a little snake, somewhat more than "a foot long. He cut out its five intestines, then coiled it up, put "an awl through it, and dried it over a fire. After some days, "a son of the family, a few years old, suddenly became red "with vesicular eruptions over his whole body; his skin cracked as "if it were roasted, and he exclaimed: 'you have murdered me "without any charge of guilt having been brought against me; "then you have cut the intestines out of my belly and put "me over a fire; this is why I make your child smart under "those sufferings'. The family on hearing these words were terror-"struck and filled with amazement. They took the snake, extracted "the bamboo awl, and moistened it with water; then they burned "incense, prayed to it, and took it back to the place where it had "been found. After some time it wriggled away, and the child "was restored to health"[2].

Some books make mention of ophidian reptiles acting as devils of disease under the name of "celestial snakes"[3]. We are unable

---

[1] 秦瞻居曲阿彭皇野、忽有物如蛇突入其腦中。蛇來先聞臭氣、便於鼻中入、盤其頭中、覺哄哄、僅聞其腦間食聲唰唰。數日而出去、尋復來、取手巾縛鼻口、亦被入、積年無他病惟患頭重. *Shen shen ki*, ch. 17.

[2] 鄆縣有民於南郭渠邊得一小蛇、長尺餘。刳剔五臟、盤而串之、置於火炙之。數日民家孩子數歲忽遍身腫赤、皮膚灺破、因自語曰、汝家無狀殺我、刳剔腹中胃、置於火上、且令汝兒知此痛苦。民家聞之驚異。取蛇拔去刻竹、以水灑之、焚香祈謝、送于舊所。良久蜿蜒而去、兒亦平愈焉. K K, ch. 459; from the *Luh i ki*, 錄異記 or Writings on Recorded Wonders, eight chapters on fabulous matter, by Tu Kwang-t'ing 杜光庭, a Taoist priest who lived in the latter part of the ninth century.

[3] 天蛇.

to discover what the Chinese understand by these beings. There exists an asterism of the same name, somewhere by Pegasus, but whether there is a connection between it and the demon in question, we cannot say. Perhaps we have here to do with a mere invention of quack doctors, magicians and exorcists. The only Chinese in whose writings we have found any mention of the matter is the author of the *Mung khi pih t'an*. "In the T'ai p'ing period "(circa A.D. 976), when Yun Kwan-khi was in government function "in the circuit of Kwang-nan and Kwang-si (eastern Yunnan), a "lower official was poisoned by some animal; his body was covered "all over with gatherings, and a physician who declared himself "able to cure him, was called in and bidden to examine the patient. "'He is stung by a celestial snake', said this man, 'and as the "disease in now deep in his body, nothing can be done against it'. "By applying some drugs to the ulcers and thrusting needles into "the swollen spots, he caught more than ten snake-like beasts, "and the disease did not recur. — And close to my grandfather's "tomb at Si-khi in Ts'ien-t'ang, a farmer was attacked by leprosy. "His body was covered with running ulcers, and he cried and "shrieked as if his last hour had come. A Buddhist monk of Si-khi, "who understood the case, declared: 'here we have a case of poisoning "by a celestial snake; it is no leprosy'. He fetched some bark of a "tree, decocted it, and gave the patient over a pint of the juice "to drink, prescribing him large doses of it; next day the disease "was reduced to one half of its virulence, and after two or three "days it was cured. I have found out that that bark was from the "hazelnut.

"But after all I know not what a heavenly serpent is. Some say "it is a yellow flower spider, living in the shrubs, and that when "a man is stung by it and moreover moistened by the dew, he gets "this disease. Thus let those who walk in the dew be careful" [1].

---

[1] 太平中允關杞曾提舉廣南西路、一吏人爲蟲所毒、舉身潰爛、有一醫言能治、呼使視之。曰、此爲天蛇所螫、疾已深、不可爲也。乃以藥傅其瘡、有腫起處以針投之、有物如蛇凡取十餘條、而疾不起。又予家祖塋在錢唐西溪嘗有一田家忽病癩。通身潰爛、號呼欲絶。西溪寺僧識之曰、此天蛇毒耳、非癩也。取木皮煮飲一

We thus learn that the diseases ascribed to that celestial reptile are certain forms of leprosy or ulcerous affections caused by its bites or stings. Even snake-like shadows may be very dangerous should they by any means enter a man's body. This need not, of course, astonish us greatly, since we know quite well that the shadows of beings are identified with their souls. Ying Shao related the following anecdote in the second century of our era:

"When my grandfather Ch'en was prefect of Kih, he went to "see the general tax-collector Tu Süen on the day of the summer- "solstice, and offered him some liquor. Just then there hung a red "bow on the wall at the north side of the apartment, which cast "a snake-like shadow into the cup. This intimidated Süen and filled "him with aversion against the liquor, but he dared not refuse to "drink, and from that day he had cutting pains in his breast and "belly. His power to digest food and drink was impaired; he became "very weak and lean, and though his disease was combatted and "treated in a myriad of ways, no cure was effected.

"Ch'en then went to the dwelling of Süen, having some busi- "ness there, and saw him. He asked him how it was that this "change had come over him, and the answer was, that he was "filled with fear of that snake, this beast having entered his belly. "Ch'en now returned to his judgment seat and pondered on the "matter a good while, when his eyes fell on the suspended bow. "Convinced that this object must have been the cause of all the "trouble, he told one of his writers at the gate of his mansion "to fetch Süen in a sedan-chair; then he set out spirits on the "same spot, and again the snake actually appeared in the cup. "'It was the shadow of the bow there on the wall', he said to "Süen, 'and no spectre'. On these words the other cheered up and "felt quite comfortable, and he regained his health from this very "moment. He rose in official service to the rank of a Minister, "and became Governor of four regions successively, in high repute "as a man of commanding presence" [1].

---

盈許、令其恣欲。初日疾減半、兩三日頓愈。驗其木乃今之秦皮也.

然不知天蛇何物。或云草間黃花蜘蛛是也、人遭其螫仍爲露水所濡乃成此疾。露涉者亦當戒之. Chapter 25.

[1] 子之祖父郴爲汲令、以夏至日詣見主簿杜

We will conclude with a tale of a toad-demon, related in a work of the T'ang dynasty. "The revisor Ch'en Khing states, that there "was in his country a petty officer, whose daughter was ill by "reason of demonry. She ate and drank irregularly; sometimes "she sang, then she burst into wailing, and ran about in the "garb of nature, tearing her face with her nails. A w u was called "in to treat her, who put up a sacrificial altar, had drums and "clarinets played, and operated on her with spells.

"Just then a man in a passenger-boat, which happened to be "moored in the river at the end of the quay, laid himself down "by the gangway to sleep, and saw in a concealed ditch a toad as "big as a bowl, with red eyes and hairy legs, dancing at the sound "of the drums. He took a bamboo pole, hauled up the beast, and "tied it to an oar. At the same moment he heard the girl exclaim: "'why do you bind my husband?' On this he knocked at the "house, and said to the owner: 'I can cure diseases like this'. The "other, rejoiced in his inmost heart, asked how much pay he "desired. 'Not more than a few thousand coins', was the answer. "'I love my daughter above everything, and the attempts to cure "her have relieved me up to this time of so many hundred strings "of coins, that I do not care about a few thousand coins more "if her health can be bought for them; I will give you twice that "sum'. The passenger now simmered the toad in oil, and next "day the girl was hale and healthy" [1].

---

宣、賜酒。時北壁上有懸赤弩、照於杯、形如蛇。宣畏惡之、然不敢不飲、其日便得胸腹痛切。妨損飲食、大用羸露、攻治萬端不爲愈。

後郴因事過至宣家、闚視。問其變故、云畏此蛇、蛇入腹中。郴還聽事、思惟良久、顧見懸弩。必是也、則使門下史將[鈴下待徐]扶輦載宣、於故處設酒、杯中故復有蛇。因謂宣、此壁上弩影耳、非有他怪。宣遂解甚夷懌、由是瘳平。官至尙書、歷四郡、有威名焉. *Fung-suh t'ung i*, ch. 9. A similar anecdote we find in the Books of the Tsin Dynasty (ch. 43, l. 22) related of a guest of the mandarin Yoh Kwang 樂廣, the mischievous shadow being in this case that of a horn decorated with a painted snake.

[1] 沈慶校書說境中有一吏人、家女病邪。飲食

### 8. Bird-demons.

Cases of human souls changed into bipeds are, as we saw in our treatise on Were-birds (p. 220), mentioned frequently enough in Chinese literature to suggest the idea that there must also exist tales about bird-shaped demons, being for instance wrathful souls of men who suffered death by violence or injustice. This presumption is largely confirmed by the facts.

"In the reign of the emperor Hwui, in the second year of the "Yung hi period (A.D. 291)", we read in a book of the fourth century, "a 'wounded soul bird' was presented to that monarch "from the principality of Shang-shan. Its shape was that of a fowl, "but its feathers were coloured like a pheasant. The emperor refused "to accept it, because he abhorred its name, but on the other hand "he liked it for its feathers. Then a man with much knowledge "of animals spoke: 'When the emperor Hwang had put to death "Ch'i-yiu (see Book I, p. 1403), an ounce attacked a woman with "its teeth, mistaking her for another person, but she was still "breathing on the seventh day, and the emperor out of pity buried "her in a double coffin in a vault of stone. Then a bird soared "over the grave, screaming out that it was the wounded soul; it "was indeed the soul of that woman. Thenceforth, whenever people "died without the ordinance of fate that so it must be, such birds "gathered in that kingdom in the fields and forests. So it was "under the dynasty of Han, at the close of the reign of Ngai and "P'ing, when (the usurper) Wang Mang destroyed so many wise "and good men; the bird then appeared so often with piteous

---

無恆、或歌或哭、躶形奔馳、抓毀面目。遂召巫者治之、結壇場、鳴鼓吹、禁咒之。

次有一乘航船者偶駐泊門首河內、枕舷而臥、忽見陰溝中一蟾蜍大如椀、朱眼毛脚、隧鼓聲作舞。乃將筒橈得、縛於榜板下。聞其女叫云、何故縛我壻。船者乃扣門、語其主曰、某善除此疾。主深喜、問其所欲。云、祇希數千文、別無所求。主曰、某惟此女偏愛之、前後醫療已數百緡、如得愈何惜數千邪、願倍酬之。船者乃將其蟾以油熬之、女是日癒. The *Chi kwai luh* of Luh Hiun.

"screaming, that mankind loathed its name. Orders were then "sent to Shang-shan to drive away the birds with arrows, but it "was not until the rise of the present Tsin dynasty, when shields "and spears were laid aside and the world between the four seas "was subdued far and wide, that the birds only from time to time "appeared in the wilds. Out of the dread which their name aroused, "this was changed from s i a n g h w u n (wounded soul) into s i a n g "h u n g. Sun Hao (the last sovereign of the house of Wu, dethroned "by that of Tsin) then was invested with the dignity of feudal "ruler of Kwei-ming (to prevent his soul from becoming revengeful "and changing into such a bird), and the meaning of the term "s i a n g h u n g (generous treatment) was consonant to this measure.

"At the close of the Y u n g p'i n g period (291) there prevailed again "much bloodshed and trouble. Sighs then resounded at the gates, "and wailing in the streets, and Shang-shan came forth again with "its tribute; but the birds were let loose and chased away"[1].

Notwithstanding that every bird, as indeed any sort of animal, may turn into a spectre, yet a rather limited number of species of the feathered tribe appear in Chinese demonology. Among them we find the cock. "Within the Tai-kiün principality", a fabulist of the fifth century relates, "stood a pavilion haunted by spectres, "to whose tricks it was impossible to put an end. One evening, some "students, men strong and bold, went thither, wishing to pass the "night in it. The keeper of the building told them not to do so,

---

[1] 惠帝永熙二年常山郡獻傷魂鳥。狀如雞、毛色似鳳。帝惡其名、棄而不納、復愛其毛羽。當時博物者云、黃帝殺蚩尤、有貙虎誤噬一婦人、七日氣不絕、黃帝哀之、葬以重棺石槨。有鳥翔其塚上、其聲自呼爲傷魂、則此婦人之靈也。後人不得其令終者此鳥來集其國園林之中。至漢哀平之末王莽多殺伐賢良、其鳥亟來哀鳴、時人疾此鳥名。使常山郡國彈射驅之、至晉初干戈始戢、四海攸歸、山野間時見此鳥。憎其名、改傷魂爲相宏。及封孫皓爲歸命侯、相宏之義叶於此矣。

永平之末死傷多故。門嗟巷哭、常山有獻、遂放逐之. *Shih i ki*, ch. 9.

"but with the words: 'we can by our nature dispel those spectres', "they put up in it. On taking supper, a hand playing a flute with five "holes came forth in front of the place where they sat. This sight made "them burst into laughter. 'How can you handle a flute over its whole "length with the one hand you have?' they said to the spectre, 'we "will play it for you'. But the spectre rejoined: 'do you think that "I have not fingers enough?' and it put forth another hand with "several times ten fingers on it. Now the graduates conceived that "the right moment to deal their blows had come: they drew their "swords and hacked at the hand, and they found an old cock" [1].

In the year 614 of our era, one Wang Tsih, the happy possessor of a very miraculous mirror, "departed for Pien, in the land of "Sung (Honan pr.). A certain Chang Khi, who was his host there, "had a daughter at home, vexed by some complaint, which at the "beginning of every night made her utter cries of woe, which were "really too pitiful to bear. Tsih asked what was the matter with "her, and was told that she had now been ill for more than a "year, and that, while during daytime she felt fairly comfortable, "every night she fell into that sorry state. Tsih stayed there for a "night, and no sooner had he heard the shrieks of the girl than he "brought forth his mirror and let it flash upon her. 'He with the comb "is murdered', she exclaimed; and under her bed there lay a large "cock, quite dead, the host's old cock of seven or eight years" [2].

---

[1] 代郡界中一亭作怪、不可止。有諸生壯勇者暮行、欲止亭宿。亭吏止之、諸生曰、我自能消此、乃住宿。食夜諸生坐前出一手吹五孔笛。諸生笑。謂鬼曰、汝止有一手那得遍笛、我爲汝吹來。鬼云、卿爲我少指耶、乃復引手、卽有數十指出。諸生知其可擊、因拔劍砍之、得老雄雞. *Yiu ming luh*: K K, ch. 461.

[2] 王勣出於宋沛。沛主人張琦家有女子、患入夜哀痛之聲、實不堪忍。勣問其故、病來已經年歲、白日則安、夜常如此。勣停一宿、及聞女子聲遂開鏡照之。病者曰、戴冠卽被殺、其病者床下有大雄雞死矣、乃是主人七八歲老雞也. *Wang Tu ku king ki* 王度古鏡記. The antique Mirror of Wang Tu, Wang Tsih's brother, who lived under the Sui dynasty. The copy which I possess consists of only ten leaves.

— "A certain Yang, a Ts'ing-yuen man (Shansi pr.), was a vice-"commander of the garrison of that province. There was a plot "of open ground by the western wall. Once when he had hurried "to the office in the early morning and had not yet returned, his "family were having their meal, when suddenly they saw a goose "with some paper mockmoney on its back pass through the house-"gate, straight into a room looking on to the western wall. 'Does "this goose come out of the temple of the god?' the family "exclaimed, and they told the slaves to drive it away; but these "men, on entering the room, saw nothing but an old man with "two tufts of hair on his head, and white whiskers. All the family "without exception ran away in a panic. Yang then came home, "and hearing of the incident seized a stick and attacked the "spectre, but it appeared and disappeared in the four corners with "so quick a succession of metamorphoses that the stick could not "in any way hit it. With increased rage he exclaimed: 'I shall "come back after dinner to beat it to death'; on which the spectre "stepped forward with a bow, and said: 'be it so'.

"Yang had two daughters. The elder one went to the kitchen "to cut meat and prepare his dinner, but when she placed the "meat on the cutting-stone, it suddenly vanished. With the knife "in her hand she told this to her father, when from under the "stone a big, black feathered hand appeared, and a voice said: "'cut it, please'. The girl ran away till she was out of breath, "and became ill from the effects. The other daughter took some "salt out of a great pot, when a big monkey burst forth from it "and climbed on her back; she ran away, and not till she was in "the hall did she get rid of the beast. She too became ill [1].

---

[1] 清源人楊某爲本郡防遏營副將。有空地在西郭。侵晨趨府、未歸、家人方食、忽有一鵝負紙錢自門而入、徑詣西郭房中。家人云、此鵝自神祠中來耶。令其奴逐之、奴入房、但見一雙髻白髯老翁。家人莫不驚走。楊歸、聞之、怒持杖擊之、鬼出沒四隅、變化倏忽、杖莫能中。楊益怒曰、食訖當復來、擊殺之。鬼乃折腰而前、曰諾。

楊有二女。長女入厨切肉具食、肉落砧輒失去。女執刀白父、砧下露一大黑毛手、曰請斫。女走氣殆絶、因而成疾。次女於大甕中取鹽、有

"A wu was then called; he erected an altar to cure the girls, "but the spectre put up an altar also, and performed (counter-)rites "in a still more effectual way. No other wu proved able to con- "quer the spectre; each of them was seized with fright, and fled. "Shortly after, the two daughters and the wife died. Then a man "versed in the methods of dealing with demons, named Ming Kiao, "was invited to recite holy books; and in the first night the spectre "went away, after having spit at Yang and scolded him. Thus "these visitations ceased; but Yang too died in that same year" [1].

Spectral animals in particular are crows or ravens, and owls. The voice and the presence of these birds are not merely ill-boding, but decidedly productive of evil, and that this was the case with the crow in very ancient times, is intimated by the verse of the *Shi king*, of which we gave the translation on page 576. "The "white-necked crow", says the commentator of the Classic of Birds [2], "is called by the people in the southwest the spectral sparrow, "and its cawing means misfortune and evil" [3]. "Its knowledge", writes another author, "is great enough to give it an insight "into good and bad fortune; therefore wherever the bird lives, "people are afraid of it, and in the south-western regions they "look upon crows as spectres able to foreknow things" [4]. The

---

一猴自甕突出、上女之背。女走、至堂前復失之。亦成疾。

1 乃召巫、立壇治之、鬼亦立壇、作法愈盛。餘巫皆不能制、亦懼而去。與之二女及妻皆卒。後有善魔法者、名曰明教、請爲持經、一宿鬼乃唾罵楊而去。因而遂絶、楊其年亦卒. *Ki shen luh*; quoted in T S, sect. 神異, ch. 319

2 *Khin king* 禽經, a small collection of short notes on birds, in one chapter. From quotations in some early works it appears that a book of this name existed under the Han dynasty, but many of those quotations not being found in the work now extant with this title, this may be a spurious production of posterior date, perhaps, as the editors of the great Imperial Catalogue surmise (ch. 115, l. 60), of the thirteenth century. It is published with a commentary ascribed to Chang Hwa, the learned minister of the third century of whom we spoke on page 189.

3 烏之白脰者西南人謂之鬼雀、鳴則凶咎.

4 其智足以通禍福、故所在則人忌之、而西南人視烏爲鬼、以爲能知未然也. *Rh-ya yih*, in its section on the crow.

souls of slain crows may persecute their murderers with a shrewdness that souls of dead men could hardly improve upon. Thus a work on the T'ang dynasty tells us: "When P'ei Chung-ling was "Governor of Kiang-ling, he sent his military commanders T'an "Hung-sheu and Wang Chih to the south of the Sierra (extending "along the north of Kwangtung and Kwangsi). Having carried "out their mission there, these men while travelling home came "at a lodging-house in Kwei-lin, where they were croaked at by a "flight of crows. Wang Chih flung a stone at them, and dashed "out the brains of one, so that it dropt down dead into a bamboo "grove. His companion T'an Hung-sheu then suddenly got so severe "a headache that he could not proceed with the journey. He told "Wang Chih to travel on before him, and await him somewhere, "or to inform his family of his condition, that they might send "people to go and fetch him.

"Suddenly P'ei Chung-ling dreamt that T'an Hung-sheu told him "he had been murdered on the way by Wang Chih, and that this man, "after appropriating his money and other effects, had left his corpse "in a bamboo copse. Before two days had elapsed, Wang Chih arrived "and asked him for new orders, but the Governor summoned him "to court, and as soon as he appeared before him delivered him over "to the officers, who bamboo-ed him and subjected him to all the "rigours of the law. Ten days later T'an Hung-sheu came back, "and the Governor then learned how the stone had been thrown "at the crow, and how the spectre of this bird had avenged itself" [1].

---

[1] 裴中令爲江陵節度使、使將軍譚弘受王稹往嶺南。充使回至桂林館、爲羣烏所噪。王稹以石擊之、烏中腦而墮死于竹林中。其同行譚弘受忽病頭痛不可前。令王稹先行去、戒逓邐相待、或先報我家令人相接。

尋裴中令夢譚弘受言在道爲王稹所殺、掠其錢物、委屍在竹林中。兩日內王稹合到乞令、公治之、王稹至遂付推司、箠楚伏法。旬日弘受到、知擊烏之事、乃是烏鬼報讎也. *T'ang kwoh shi pu* 唐國史補 or The History of the T'ang Dynasty amended; three chapters of notes and tales on the eighth century and the first quarter of the ninth, ascribed to Li Chao 李肇, a high officer. A copy in our possession does not contain the above narration. We borrow it from the TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 23.

We have also tales of manslayers haunted mercilessly by the souls of their victims in the shape of crows. "Li Ch'ing-szĕ was a "man of Ngoh-cheu in the time of the T'ang dynasty. His family "was rich, counting its wealth by myriads of coins, but he had "an ugly wife, and a son of ten years old, both diseased in their "loins and lower limbs. He had always hated them, and married "four concubines, with whom he spent his days in pleasure.

"Once these concubines, when tipsy, advised him to divorce "the ugly one with a hundred thousand coins. But the latter's "resolution to bring the matter before the authorities withheld him. "So he and the concubines contrived another plot. That night they "gave the poor woman liquor to drink, and then poisoned her, "together with her son. But from the tenth day after the burial "they saw two crows appear at every noontide to peck Ch'ing-"szĕ's heart, causing him intolerable sufferings. It was impossible "to drive them away; senseless with despair he sank to the "ground, and it was long ere he recovered consciousness. This went "on for a year, a myriad of expedients to which recourse was had, "proving ineffective to help him.

"It chanced that one Lo Kung-yuen, a Taoist doctor of Ts'ing-"ch'ing, was wandering between the Hwai and Szĕ rivers. Him "Ch'ing-szĕ entreated to visit his house, and asked if he had any "magical art to avert the evil and help him. 'Wronged souls are "at work here', the doctor replied; 'they have laid an accusation "before the Emperor of Heaven, and have been authorised by Heaven "to wreak vengeance upon men; in such cases no magic can stop "them; the only way to obtain absolution from the sins com-"mitted is to put up a Taoist altar adorned with yellow charms, "and there to appeal to Heaven with reverence'. Ch'ing-szĕ did so "for the space of three days and three nights. After the second day "the black birds ceased their visits, and then his wife and his son "appeared to him in a dream. 'Unjustly you destroyed by poison "the lives of us both, mother and son', they said; 'we denounced "you for it to the Emperor of Heaven, and He has allowed us to "take revenge; but on account of the virtuous work performed with "the yellow charms, the Most High has sent down an order, to the "effect that we shall be reborn in Heaven, there to be rewarded "with bliss; we therefore loosen for ever the ties of revenge that "bind us to you" [1].

---

[1] 李承嗣者鄧州唐年人也。家富巨萬而娶妻

As to the owl, of which several varieties are found in China, its nocturnal life and screeching no doubt are the principal reasons for its general investment with demoniacal attributes. It is deemed to be extremely ill-boding, especially the tufted species, called keu-koh[1], or denoted by various other names. Ch'en Tsang-khi wrote in the first half of the eighth century: "When it enters a city, the city "will be depopulated, and the same fate will befall the house "into which it flies; but it is harmless when it steadfastly remains "in the same spot. When any one hears it emit a cry like a laugh, "he should hurry away. In the northern countries there exist "two varieties of this kind, called hiun and hu, resembling each "other, and yet being distinct species; they are named so from the "sounds hiun and hu which they utter, have eyes like kittens, and "are of the size of the khü-yuh; should these birds emit a cry "like a laugh, somebody is sure to die. Further we have the "hiu-liu, also belonging to this kind, but smaller, and yellow; "it enters houses at night, and there gathers finger-nails, becoming

---

貌醜、有子、年十歲、仍患腰脚。承嗣常惡之、乃娶小婦四人、終日伎樂。

忽因酒醉、小婦妄言與醜妻一百千錢令其離異。妻欲詣官訟之、因此方免。承嗣遂與小妻爲計。夜飲之、次以毒藥殺其醜妻及兒。葬後旬日以來每至午時卽見二烏來啄承嗣心、痛不可忍。驅之不去、迷悶於地、久而方定。如此一年、萬法不能救。

青城道士羅公遠遊淮泗間。承嗣請至家、問禳救方術。公遠曰、冤魂所爲、皆上告天帝、奉天符來報人間、方術不能免之、只有修黃籙道場、拜表奏天、可解斯罪爾。承嗣遂修黃籙道場三日三夜。二日之後烏鳥不復來、其妻與兒現于夢中。曰、汝枉殺我母子二人併命毒藥、我上訴於天帝、許報汝冤、今以黃籙善功太上降敕我已生天、受諸福報、與汝永解冤結. *Yun kih ts'ih ts'ien*; T S, sect. 禽虫, ch. 23.

[1] 鉤鵂.

"acquainted (therefrom?) with the good and bad fortunes of the "inmates. When it is caught, nails are found in its crop; hence "those who clip their nails bury them within the house" [1].

"The k u-h w o h can fetch away the dual soul of man. According "to the *Hüen chung ki*, this is a bird-spectre, a kind of spirit, "which, when it dresses itself with feathers, is a flying bird, and "when it puts the feathers off, becomes a woman; this is said to "be a woman transformed after having died in childbed, and there-"fore has two nipples on her breast, and is bent on snatching "away the sons of others, to bring them up as her own. No "family with young infants should leave the clothes of the latter "in the open night-air, for if the bird, while flying around at night, "marks them with spots of blood, the child will suddenly get "convulsions from terror and also suffer from a kind of atrophy, "named atrophy of the guiltless. This bird is abundant in King-cheu, "and there too is called the spectre-bird" [2].

In the ninth century, Twan Ch'ing-shih deemed this ornithological lore good enough for a place in his writings. He added that this nocturnal wanderer was called Daughter of the Emperor of Heaven [3], and t i a o-s i n g [4], which may be the name of a star. He acquaints us with an owl, called "the spectral chariot", notorious as a devil devoting itself to the theft of human souls:

---

[1] 入城城空、入室室空、常在一處則無害。若聞其聲如笑者宜速去之。北土有訓狐二物相似、各有其類、訓狐聲呼其名、兩目如猫兒、大如鴟鴞、作笑聲當有人死。又有倗鼻、亦是其類、微小而黃、夜能入人家拾人手爪、知人吉凶。有人獲之、嗉中猶有爪甲、故除爪甲者埋之戶內爲此也. *Pen-ts'ao shih i*, quoted in the *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 49.

[2] 姑獲能收人魂魄。玄中記云、姑獲鳥鬼神類也、衣毛爲飛鳥、脫毛爲女人、云是產婦死後化作、故胸前有兩乳、喜取人子養爲己子。凡有小兒家不可夜露衣物、此鳥夜飛以血點之爲誌、兒輒病驚癇及疳疾、謂之無辜疳也。荆州多有之、亦謂之鬼鳥. *Op. et loc. cit.*

[3] 天帝女. [4] 釣星.

"The bird called the spectral chariot formerly had, according "to tradition, ten heads, and could ravish human souls, but one "of its heads was devoured by dogs. In the Ts'in region, when "the sky is dark, that bird sometimes produces a noise like of "swords and chariots, but, according to some, this noise is caused "by water-fowls passing through the air" [1]. Before Twan Ch'ing-shih committed these notes to paper, Ch'en Tsang-khi had written something about this dreaded soul-robber: "The spectral chariot flies "about in the dark, crying, and sneaks into human dwellings, there "to gather the souls and breath of men. Time was, according to "tradition, when this bird had ten heads; one was then devoured "by dogs, and nine remained. Out of the place of that one head "blood trickles continually, and should this come down upon a "house, misfortune will befall it. When the inhabitants of King "and Ch'u (Hunan and Hupeh) hear the bird fly and cry in the "night, they extinguish their lamps, and in order to prevail over it "drum on the doors and twitch the ears of their dogs, for, they "say, it is afraid of dogs (which once bit off its head)" [2]. We read, indeed, in a "Calendar of Customs in the King and Ch'u regions" [3], which was written in the sixth century: "In the first month of the "year many spectre-birds migrate during the night. In every house "the inmates hammer on the beds, and beat against the doors, "pinch and twist the ears of the dogs, and extinguish lamps and "candles, in order to ward them off" [4].

The stately crane, so highly esteemed and so generally appreciated in China as an emblem of longevity, there dishonours and

---

1 鬼車鳥相傳此鳥昔有十首、能収人魂、一首爲犬所噬。秦中天陰有時有聲、聲如刀車鳴、或言是水鷄過也. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 16.

2 鬼車晦暝則飛鳴、能入人家収人魂氣。相傳此鳥昔有十首、犬齧其一、猶餘九首。其一常滴血、血着人家則凶。荆楚人夜聞其飛鳴、但滅燈打門捩狗耳以厭之、言其畏狗也. *Pen-ts'ao shih i*, quoted in the *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 49.

3 *King Ch'u sui-shi ki* 荆楚歲時記.

4 正月夜多鬼鳥度。家家槌牀打戶、捩狗耳、滅燈燭、以禳之.

debases itself now and then like a fox, by playing the devil of lewdness in human disguise. Thus, "in the reign of the emperor "Hwai of the Tsin dynasty, in the Yung kia period (A.D. 307— "313), one Sü Shih was out for a stroll, and in the field perceived "a young maid of nice complexion, fresh and white. She approached "him, they exchanged some words of endearment, and the girl "sang this verse:

"Your good repute reached my ears a long time ago,
"And my heart has since waited for you for days and months;
"How could I meet you, excellent man?
"I longed for you, but owing to the distance no attachment could be formed.

"As soon as Shih's love was in harmony with hers, she, in delight, "invited him to a house, and there placed food and drink before "him, with much fish. As he did not come home next day, his "brothers tracked him, and found him sitting on the bank of the "lake, face to face with the lady. They attacked her with their "rattan canes, but she changed immediately into a white crane, "which flew high up into the sky. Shih was quite bewildered, and "it was more than a year ere he recovered" [1].

### 9. Piscine Devils.

Confucius, whose holiness, as we saw on page 628, did not safeguard him from attacks of serpent-demons in human shape, is stated by early authors to have had also a visit from a most diabolic man-fish. "In a fit of melancholy he was seated in a lodging- "house at the ordered strings (of his lute), and was singing, when "in the night a man appeared, over nine feet high, in a blackish "dress and with a high cap. His harsh voice set all the attendants "in commotion. Tsze-kung stepped forward and asked: 'who are

[1] 晉懷帝永嘉中徐奕出行田見一女子、姿色鮮白。就奕、言調、女因吟曰、疇昔聆好音、日月心延佇、如何遇良人、中懷邈無緒。奕情既諧、欣然延至一屋、女施設飲食、而多魚。遂經日不返、兄弟追覓。於湖邊見與女相對坐。兄以藤杖擊女、卽化成白鶴、翻然高飛。奕恍惚、年餘乃差. *I yuen*, quoted in the K K, ch. 460.

"you?' but the intruder seized him and gripped him under his "arm. Then Tszĕ-lu came forth with a drawn bow, and fought the "stranger in the courtyard. When after some moments the latter "still stood unconquered, Confucius scanned him, and perceived "that the pivots at the joints of his coat-of-mail opened now and "then like the palm of a hand. 'Why do not you test those joints?' "he exclaimed, 'shoot him there, and run up the steps!' Tszĕ-lu "did so, and thus stretched the stranger flat on the ground, where "he became a big t'i fish of over nine feet. Then Confucius said:

"'Wherefore did this beast come here? I have heard, that "when animals become old, all vital spirits (tsing) may possess "them, and that then they appear where there is adversity. It "must be this which brought this beast here; would not its "coming have some connexion or other with my fit of melancholy "and distaste for food, or with diseases of those who follow "me? Yes, the six domestic animals, as also tortoises, snakes, fish, "turtles, shrubs, trees, and so on, all become possessed in the long "run by shen, and then they can haunt mankind as spectres, "which I call the five yiu, that is to say, the five regions (points "of the compass) corresponding with the five elements, as all those "regions contain such beings. Yiu means old, as such beings "haunt when they are old. But their activity ceases when they "are killed; what evil then can impend now over me? This "incident may even be created by Heaven's undiminished goodness "to bind my fate (with firmer ties); wherefore else should that "beast have come here? Accordingly I need not desist from my "lute-playing and my songs'. Tszĕ-lu cooked the fish, which had "a fine flavor; and the ailing followers rose from their beds, so "that next day the party could pursue its voyage" [1].

---

[1] 孔子厄於陳絃歌於館中、夜有一人、長九尺餘、著皁衣高冠。大吒聲動左右。子貢進問何人耶、便提子貢而挾之。子路引出、與戰於庭。有頃未勝、孔子察之、見其甲車間時時開如掌。孔子曰、何不探其甲車、引而奮登。子路引之、應手仆於地、乃是大鯑魚也、長九尺餘。

孔子曰、此物也何爲來哉。吾聞物老則羣精依之、因衰而至。此其來也、豈以吾遇厄絶糧從者病乎。夫六畜之物及龜蛇魚鱉草木之屬久者

In a specially bad repute as a demon of disease is a fish designated by the name of shang. We read of it as follows:

"The shang resembles the tench, and has red spots; the largest "specimens are over a ch'ih long. It occurs in Yü-chang, where "it lives mostly in dirty and muddy ponds, sometimes by hundreds. "These fishes can become tsu spectres, evil apparitions bewitching "and bewildering men, and also capable of possessing them. The "owners of fields and grounds in the neighbourhood of such pools dare "not injure them, but they invoke them sometimes and present sacri- "fices to them, in order to improve their harvests, and thus they "make their fields yield double crops. But the owners have to "conceal their names, and to desert their fields after having culti- "vated them for three years, this being the sure way to escape the "misfortune which those fishes cause.

"The ill they may bring upon men consists in this, that they "turn the posture of their faces, hands and feet; the way to "be delivered from this evil is to pray and sue out a pardon. "At night they can move over land, where they mark their path "by muddy prints; and on the spots they visit a sound like seu- "seu is heard. The general-in-chief of the twenty-fifth division of "the Emperor of the North has a charm which may conquer those "tsu of the waters. Written on bricks or stones, it may be thrown "into their pools; or, written on boards, it may be nailed on the edge "of waters, and the fish then are sure to remove in consequence "of a storm of wind and rain, or a thunderbolt. Those who "understand this magic should apply it" [1].

---

神皆憑依、能爲妖怪、故謂之五酉、五酉者五行之方、皆有其物。酉者老也、物老則爲怪。殺之則已、夫何患焉。或者天之未喪斯文以是繫予之命乎、不然、何爲至于斯也。絃歌不輟。予路烹之、其味滋、病者與、明日遂行. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 19.

[1] 鱯魚狀如鱧、其文赤斑、長者尺餘。豫章界有之、多居汚泥池中、或至數百。能爲魑魅幻惑妖怪、亦能魅人。其汚池側近所有田地人不敢犯、或告而奠之、厚其租直、田卽倍豐。但匿已姓名、佃之三年而後棄去、必免其害。

其或爲人患者能捩人面目、反人手足、祈謝

To act as a devil of sickness, a fish needs by no means belong to a special kind. "Under the T'ang dynasty", a story runs, "one Liu I of Ho-tung sojourned in Loh-yang, and availing "himself of the vernal weather was angling in the I, and caught "a big fish, which he took home and placed in a basin with "water. He had a child, not more than six or seven years old, "which he dreamed that same night was bitten in the breast by "a fish. With a shudder he awoke, just in time to hear the child "cry. 'I dreamt that a big fish was biting its breast', said he; 'it is "crying because it cannot endure the pain'. As this tallied with his "dream, he, in surprise, inspected the child's breast, and his fright "was great when he found on it pustules and blood. At daybreak "he flung his fish into the stream; then he ordered some Buddhist "clergymen to recite sutras before painted images of the saints; "and in a little more than ten days the child's pustules were "cured. He never angled again" [1].

The cold blood peculiar to the fish tribe has not prevented Chinese authors from recording tales of fishes that, like so many other animal-demons, have cheated men and women by tempting, seducing or marrying them in human forms. Such stories are even told of crabs. "In Kin-ling, where crabs abound, there is an "old tradition abroad of a crab the back of which measured five "feet, and the legs of which had twice that length; it appeared "regularly in the dead of night to bite people. At that time there

之而後免。亦能夜間行於陸地、所經之處有泥踪跡、所到之處聞嗾嗾之聲。北帝二十五部大將軍有破泉魁符。書於磚石上投其池中、或書板刺釘於池畔、而必因風雨雷霆以往他所。善此術者方可行之. *Luh i ki*; KK, ch. 467.

[1] 唐河東柳沂者僑居洛陽、因乘春釣伊水、得巨魚、挈而歸、置於盆水中。先是沂有嬰兒、始六七歲、是夕沂夢魚以喙嚙嬰兒臆。沂悸然而寤、果聞嬰兒啼。曰、向夢一大魚嚙其臆、痛不可忍、故啼焉。與沂夢同、沂異之、乃視嬰兒之臆果有瘡而血、沂益懼。明旦以魚投伊水中、且命僧轉經畫像、僅旬餘嬰兒瘡愈。沂自後不復釣也. *Sūen-shih chi*; KK, ch. 467.

"was in the country a chaste woman, still unmarried, though thirty "years old. One night her house was assailed by robbers and she ran "out of it, but found the giant crab across her path. On a sudden it "stood before her as a beautiful youth, who seduced her. With deep "indignation this immaculate virgin exclaimed: 'what spectre are you "that dares dishonour me? when I am dead I shall transform myself "into a poisonous fog and therewith kill you'; and with these words "she dashed her head against a rock with so much vehemence that "she died. Next morning people found the crab dead on the road in "a dense fog, and wayfarers were then no longer molested. And "to this day many crabs lie torpid when fog is thick" [1].

### 10. Insects as Demons.

Even insects are not too insignificant in China for a place among animal-demons. "In the I hi period of the Tsin dynasty", we learn from T'ao Ts'ien, "one Koh Hwui-fu of Wu-shang was passing "a night at the house of his wife's family, when after the third "watch two men with torches appeared in front of the steps. "Apprehending that they were there with evil intent, he went to "give them a thrashing and was on the point of laying his stick "about them, when they changed into butterflies, which flew about "in confusion and dashed against Hwui-fu's flank; he tumbled to "the ground, and was dead in a short time" [2].

---

[1] 金陵極多蟹、古傳有巨蟹、背圓五尺、足長倍之、深夜每出嚙人。其地有貞女、三十不嫁。夜遇盜逃出、遇巨蟹橫道。忽化作美男子、誘之。貞女怒曰、汝何等精怪乃敢辱我、我死當化毒霧以殺汝、遂自觸石而死。明日大霧中人見巨蟹死於道、於是行人無復慮矣。至今大霧中蟹多僵者. *Yuen chi shwoh lin* 元池說林. a work I have not seen, and about which I find nowhere any particulars; the tale is given in the TS, sect. 禽虫. ch. 162.

[2] 晉義熙中烏傷葛輝夫在婦家宿、三更後有兩人把火至塔前。疑是凶人往打之、欲下杖、悉變成蝴蝶、繽紛飛散、有衝輝夫腋下、便倒地、少時死 *Shen shen hew ki*, ch. 8.

Cicadas in human disguise are no less prone than sundry mammals and reptiles to seduce women. "In the reign of Sun Hao of "the Wu dynasty (third cent.), Chu Tan of Hwai-nan, prefect "of the capital, whose cognomen was Yung-ch'ang, was Governor "of Kien-ngan. One of the delegates in his service had a wife, "labouring under demonish disease, but her husband suspected her "of illicit sexual intercourse. Afterwards he started on a journey, "but spied upon her through a cleft in the wall, and presently saw "her seated within her loom to weave, looking at something in a "distant mulberry tree, and then approaching this, speaking and "jesting. And the delegate discovered a lad in the tree, fourteen or "fifteen years old, wearing a blue quilt with sleeves, and a headband "of the same colour. Supposing that this was the true gallant, the "delegate drew his bow and shot at him; but the knave turned into "a chirping cicada as large as a refuse-basket, and fluttered away. "The wife, affrighted by the hissing of the shot, exclaimed: 'beware! "they are shooting at you', rather to her goodman's astonishment.

"Erelong the delegate saw two lads in the street, holding the "following discourse: — 'Why did not I see you again?' 'Well', "replied the other, who was the lad in the tree, 'I was so unfor-"tunate as to be ill with a wound for a long time, having been "shot at'. 'And how do you feel now?' 'I cured myself with an "ointment standing on the rafter of Governor Chu'. Now the "delegate said to Chu Tan: 'do you know that your unguent has been "stolen?' 'I have had it upon the rafter for a long time', was "the reply, 'how could it be stolen thence?' 'You are wrong', "mylord; examine it'. Tan did not believe a word of it, but he "examined the unguent, and found it wrapped up as before and "with its old label. 'Thou villain, thou liest wilfully and knowingly', "he exclaimed, 'the ointment is, of course, quite in the same con-"dition as it was'; but the delegate retorted: 'open it', and in "fact, one half of the contents was gone, and the remainder bore "clear marks of having been scraped off with a finger. Great now "was Tan's fright. He interrogated the man minutely, who told "him everything from beginning to end" [1].

---

[1] 吳孫皓世淮南內史朱誕、字永長、爲建安大守。誕給使妻有鬼病、其夫疑之爲奸。後出行、密穿壁隙窺之、正見妻在機中織、遙瞻桑樹上、向之言笑。給使仰視樹上有一年少人、可十四

Spiders too have shown themselves very dangerous to man's morals. "To the south of the city of Kiang-hia (Hupeh pr.) there "is in the convent of the Iron Buddha a spider-well. According "to popular tradition, there existed there in the time of the T'ang "dynasty a red and a white spider, which adopted the shape of "charming women to bewitch men; hence the Iron Buddha was "cast to subdue them" [1]. In their rôle of maleficent ghosts, spiders appear in Amoy especially as authors of nightmare. People there hold the *bái-kúi* or "*bái*-spectre", a large, harmless domestic octopod, in great abhorrence, on the ground that it places itself on the ceiling right over sleeping persons, oppressing their chests if they happen to lie on their backs, until they change their posture and turn their breasts away from the monster. This is said to be distinguishable from ordinary spiders by a missing leg. Unmistakeable marks of its grasps are the blue and red wales, sometimes visible on parts of the body which have been subjected to pressure during sleep.

To conclude with a tale that acquaints us with a centipede as harbinger and cause of evil: — "In the fifth year of the "Yuen kia period (A.D. 428), on an evening of the autumnal

---

五、衣青衿袖青幝頭。給使以爲信人也、張弩射之、化爲鳴蟬、其大如箕、翔然飛去。妻亦應聲驚曰、噫人射汝、給使怪其故。

後久時給使見二小兒在陌上、共語曰、何以不復見汝。其一卽樹上小兒也、答曰、前不遇爲人所射、病瘡積時。彼兒曰、今何如。曰、賴朱府君梁上膏以傅之得愈。給使白誕曰、人盜君膏藥頗知之否。誕曰、吾膏久置梁上、人安得盜之。給使曰、不然、府君視之。誕殊不信、試爲視之、封題如故。誕曰、小人故妄言、膏自如故、給使曰、試開之、則膏去半、爲掊刮見有跡跡。誕因大驚。乃詳問之、具道本末. *Shen shen ki*, ch. 17.

[1] 江夏城南鐵佛寺內有蜘蛛井。世傳唐時有紅白二蜘蛛、化爲妖嬌以媚人、故鑄鐵佛鎭之. *Kiang-hia chi* 江夏志, Memoirs concerning Kiang-hia: TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 177.

"season, it happened in Yü-chang to one Hu Ch'ung, that a large "centipede, two feet long, fell down before his wife and his sister; "they told a slave maid to pick it up and throw it away, but no "sooner was the slave out of doors than they saw an old hag "with stinking and ragged clothes and without eye-balls. In the "third month of the next year, while his door was closed, they "died one after another" [1].

Insects, as also vipers, toads, and perhaps yet other small reptiles, in one word, various crawling vermin really poisonous or thought to be so, are especially dangerous to men if they or their souls are sent out against them on purpose by malicious people, in order to poison them or otherwise destroy their health and lives. Such artificial animal-demonism is sorcery, of a kind which the reader will find treated in the next Part of this Book.

---

[1] 宋豫章胡充元嘉五年秋夕有大蜈蚣、長二尺、落充婦與妹前。令婢挾擲、婢裁出戶忽覩一姥、衣服臭敗、兩目無精。到六年三月閤門時患死亡相繼. *I yuen*, quoted in the K K, ch. 474.

# CHAPTER VI.

## ON PLANT-DEMONS.

As set forth in our chapter on Plant-spirits (p. 272), trees, shrubs and herbs are admitted in China by philosophy and folklore to possess souls, as much as men and animals. That chapter has also shown the correctness of the obvious inference, that there must be among plants a considerable number bent on inflicting evil on man, and thus fully entitled to be ranked in the demon class.

And in the third place, that chapter has taught us, that animated plants are distinguished into two categories, viz. those which contain amorphous shen substance, and those which are possessed of spirits in human or animal shape. The former, we have also seen, exercise a salutary power upon man, curing him of mental and bodily infirmity and disease, prolonging his life, and even making him live for ever. We may then expect to find plant-devils exclusively in the other category; and this is confirmed implicitly by the evidence set before us in Chinese books.

On page 286 we gave a tale which shows, that, like foxes, wolves and other beasts, anthropomorphous plant-devils waylay married or unmarried women, seducing them for the satisfaction of their vile lusts. From numerous tales we may learn how they bewilder such victims and make them mad or ill, how they allure them to their haunts by shrewd tricks, and abduct them or their souls. Thus, "under the Tsin dynasty, a member of the gentry purchased a "fresh-looking slave woman who answered to the name of Hwai-"shun, and was told by her that the daughter of her paternal aunt "had been possessed by a red hien plant. Having seen a lad with "a nice, fresh complexion, in a red dress, who told her that his "dwelling stood to the north side of the privy, the girl had been "carolling continuously with marks of great satisfaction; every "evening she suddenly stopped working, and went behind the

"house, and her family who watched her, saw nothing but the "hien with the girl's bracelets and fingerrings hanging on it. "They cut down the plant, on which the girl, having wailed and "wept the whole night through, breathed her last" [1].

— "In the first year of the Ching kwan period (627) the "darling daughter of Li Tsih died. She was buried in Poh-mang, "and he ordered a house-slave to dwell beside her grave. One day "the girl came to this man with the following words: 'In reality "I am not dead, but I have been kidnapped by the shen of a "big tree; he happens to be away now for an audience with the "god of the Western mountain, which gave me a chance to escape, "and knowing you are here, I come to you, for the disgrace I have "suffered since I left my parents prevents me from going home; "I hope you will conceal me somewhere; I shall reward you for it "by making you a wealthy man'.

"The slave stood aghast for a long while, but he promised to "do it, and constructed a separate dwelling for her. Sometimes the "woman left it in the morning, to return at the end of the day, "but it happened also that she went away in the evening, to "come back at daybreak. She walked with the lightness of the "wind. When a month had passed, she brought with her ten "pounds of gold and gave it to the slave, who accepted it and "sold a few ounces. But then some one among the people, whose "gold had disappeared, seized him and lodged a complaint against "him before the Loh-yang authorities, who enquired whence he had "got the gold. On being informed by the slave of all the details of "the event, they tried to catch the woman, but she had disappeared. "The rest of the gold transformed itself entirely into yellow stone" [2].

---

[1] 晉有士人買得鮮卑女、名懷順、自說其姑女爲赤芃所魅。始見一丈夫、容質妍淨、著赤衣、自云家在厠北、女於是恒謌謠自得、每至將夕輒結束去屋後、其家伺候、唯見有一株赤芃、女手指環挂其芃莖。斧之、而女號泣經宿遂死焉.
*I yuen*; K K, ch. 416.

[2] 貞觀元年李勣愛女卒。葬北邙、使家僮廬于墓側。一日女子忽詣家僮曰、我本不死、被大樹之神竊我、今値其神出朝西嶽故得便奔出、知爾在此是以來、我已離父母後有此辱恥不可

We read in a work of the highest class:

"When Chang Ping had been promoted to the third literary "degree in the eighth year of the Ch'ing hwa period (1472), he "was invested with the prefectural dignity of the Yen-shan district "(in Kiangsi). There a girl had been given in marriage, but on "the arrival (of the bridal procession) at the housedoor of the son-"in-law she had vanished. Wherefore both families had lodged "complaints before the magistrate, who, however, had found it "impossible to give a verdict. Then Chang Ping made an excursion "through the demesnes of the city, and seeing a big tree which "prevented the ground on the spot from being cultivated, would fell "it; but the people said that there were shen nestled in its top. "Ping did not heed their words, and at the head of the crowd went "thither to fell it, whereupon three men, dressed and capped after "the fashion of ceremonial attire, on the left side of the road made "reverences to him; but he scolded them, and they disappeared of a "sudden. His men then set to the work of felling, and a stream of "blood gushed out of the tree. At this sight Ping flew into a passion; "he swung the axe with his own hands, and brought down the tree, "and out of the nest two women tumbled, who declared that a gale "had blown them somewhere to an upper story. One of them was "that woman who had been given in marriage" [1].

---

歸、幸爾匿我、我能以致富報爾。

家僮駭愕良久、乃許、遂別置一室。其女或朝出暮至、或夜出曉來。行步如風。一月後忽携黃金十斤以賜家僮、受之、出賣數兩。乃民家所失主者執家僮以告洛陽令、推窮其由。家僮具述此事、及追取此女、已失。其餘金盡化爲黃石焉. *Sun siang luh* 孫相錄, a work unknown to me; K K, ch. 328.

[1] 張昺舉成化八年進士、授鉛山知縣。有嫁女者、及壻門而失女。互以訟於官、不能決。昺行邑界、見大樹妨稼欲伐之、民言樹有神巢其顛。昺不聽、率衆往伐、有衣冠三人拜道左、昺叱之、忽不見。比伐樹、血流出樹間。昺怒、手斧之、卒仆其樹、巢中墮二婦人、言狂風吹至樓上。其一卽前所嫁女也. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 161, l. 18.

But let us lay aside the instances of crafty abduction and seduction perpetrated by tree-devils, and turn to those which speak of mischief of a more serious description. Koh Hung stated, that in the time of an immortal, named Liu P'ing [1], who was quite youthful in spite of the three centuries which had passed over his head, "there existed an old temple with a tree, over which there conti-"nually hung a glare of light, while many cases of violent death "occurred among people stopping under its foliage. No bird ven-"tured to build its nest in it. P'ing arraigned and punished it, "with the result that, though it was the height of summer, it "withered and died, while a big snake of seven or eight chang "was found hanging in it, and died. After that, the tree did no "more harm" [2]. A similar story was related of Sheu Kwang-heu, the wonderworker of whom we spoke on page 629. "There was a "tree possessed by a spirit, at which whosoever stopped imme-"diately died, and birds flying overhead always fell down. Heu "arraigned it, on which the tree withered, though it was mid-"summer, and fell down; and a big serpent of seven chang by "eight was seen hanging in it, dying" [3].

Accordingly, by felling trees in which demons house, the latter may be disabled and killed. Conversely, attacking trees may be very dangerous work, as it may anger the indwelling spirit and unchain its wrath. Yü Pao relates, "that in Yang-cheu the sister "of one Ku Khiu of Pieh-kia had been ill from her tenth year, "and that he asked Kwoh Poh, when she had already passed her "fiftieth, to give an oracle about her condition. This sage obtained "the kwa called shing, meaning a serious offence, and the "appended verse of explanation ran thus: 'The meaning of the kwa "'serious offence' is not favourable; a withered willow growing on "a tomb is not clothed with bloom; a busy wandering soul beholds

---

[1] 劉憑.

[2] 有古廟、廟間有樹、樹上常有光、人止其下多遇暴死。禽鳥不敢巢其枝。憑乃勑之、盛夏樹便枯死、有大蛇、長七八丈、懸其間而死。後不復爲患. *Shen sien ch'wen*, ch. 5.

[3] 有神樹、人止者輒死、鳥過者必墜。侯復劾之、樹盛夏枯落、見大蛇長七八丈、懸死其間. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 112, II, l. 17.

"a dragon's] chariot; a person being involved seriously, a child is "afflicted with a devil; this is caused by the felling of a tree, and "the killing of a snake possessed of spiritual power; but these are "not offences of his own, but of his ancestors'. Khiu then searched "the history of his family; and discovered that certain of the last "generation had felled a big tree, and killed a large snake which "they found in it; from that moment the woman had sickened, "and when she was ill, thousands of birds had soared round about "over the roof, which had astonished all, as nobody could give "a reason for it; and a farmer of that district, passing by the "house and looking up at them, had seen a dragon drawing a "chariot, and a dazzling five-coloured glare of light, which most "extraordinary sight had disappeared after a while" [1].

And Sui Yuen relates:

"When Yin Wen-twan was Governor General of Shensi, he "received a missive from the prefect of the district of Hwa-yin, to "the following effect:

"'Herewith I detail the particulars of my collision with an evil "spirit, and report my death. In front of my third hall stood an "old Hwai tree (Sophora), making the rooms very dark; I wished "to fell it, but the petty officers in the city all said: 'there is a "spirit in this tree; it may not be felled'. I did not believe them, "and felled it; moreover I had the roots dug up, and when these "had been removed I saw fresh flesh, and under it a painted "paper showing a naked girl in a reclining attitude. With great "detestation I burned the picture and gave the flesh to the dog to "eat, and that same night I felt that my soul was uneasy; I was "not ill, but dejected, and this has become worse every day; "alarming sounds are drumming in my ears; my eyes see nothing, "but my ears hear; I feel that I shall live no longer in this world.

---

[1] 楊州別駕顧球姊生十年便病、至年五十餘令郭璞筮。得大過之升、其辭曰、大過卦者義不嘉、冢墓枯楊無英華、振動遊魂見龍車、身被重累嬰妖邪、法由斬樹殺靈蛇、非己之咎、先人瑕。球乃迹訪其家事、先世曾伐大樹、得大蛇殺之、女便病、病後有群鳥數千廻翔屋上、人皆怪之、不知何故、有縣農行過舍邊、仰視見龍牽車、五色晃爛、其大非常有頃遂滅. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 3.

"Therefore I beg Your Excellency to send another functionary hither'.

"Yin put this missive in his sleeve, and then gave it his private "secretary to read, who asked: 'what reply shall we send to this?' "He had not finished these words when another missive arrived, "announcing the death of the prefect of Hwa-yin in consequence "of his illness" [1].

Plant-spirits being sometimes, as we saw on page 282, dog-shaped, they may harry mankind in such a form. "Towards the "end of the Liang dynasty, an empty house in Pu-sih-kia, in Ts'ai-"cheu was declared by those who had successively dwelled in it "to be unlucky and not habitable. A man named Wei Fuh-t'o "entered that house with a light, and stopping in the front hall "saw in the twilight a being with a human face and a dog's "body without a tail, running and jumping in the apartments. "Our hero put an arrow into that beast, and this one shot "sufficed to make it vanish. Next day they opened the house, "and saw the arrow buried up to its feathers in a rotten tree-"stump over a ch'ih in length, with some coagulated blood under "it. Thenceforth apparitions occurred there no more" [2].

---

[1] 尹文端公督陝時接華陰縣某稟、啟云、

爲觸犯妖神陳情稟死事。卑職三廳前有古槐一株、遮房甚黑、意欲伐之、而邑中吏役僉曰、是樹有神、伐之不可。某不信、伐之、并掘其根、根盡見鮮肉一方、肉下有畫一幅、畫赤身女子横臥。卑職甚惡之、焚其畫、以肉飼犬、是夜覺神魂不寧、無病而憔悴日甚、惡聲洶洶、目無見而耳有聞、自知不久人世。乞大人別委署篆者來。

尹公得稟袖之、與幕客傳觀、曰、此等稟帖作何批發。言未畢華陰縣報病故文書至矣. *Tsze puh yü*, ch. 7.

[2] 梁末蔡州布席家空宅相承云凶、不可居。有人魏佛陀將火入宅、前堂止息、曛黃之際堂舍有一物、人面狗身無尾、在舍跳躑。佛陀輓弓射之、一發卽不復見。明日發屋、看箭欽羽得一朽木、可長尺許、下有凝血。自後遂絶. K K, ch. 415.

Tree-demons may appear as monsters in black giant forms. "In "the T'ai hwo period (827—836) there lived one Kiang Hia, "a secondary officer, in whose official mansion mysterious and "strange things occurred. Every night they saw a giant, totally "black and very shining; all who beheld him were forthwith "seized with fright, fell ill, and died. Afterwards there was there "one Hü Yuen-ch'ang, an able devil-seer, who, when the officer "had ordered him to arraign the spectre with his written magical "charms, sat down one evening under the western balcony of "the hall. On a sudden the giant came; Yuen-ch'ang drew forth "a charm and let fly at the monster; it struck its arm with a "sound as if it were cut through, and the arm fell to the ground. "Off ran the giant, and Yuen-ch'ang perceived that the arm which "had dropped off was a dry branch of a tree. Next morning a slave "of the house said to him: 'your charm is sticking to the dead "tree by the north-east corner of the hall'; they immediately went "to see, and perceived a branch severed from the tree: in fact "the arm cut off from the giant. Forthwith they felled the tree "and burned it, and from that moment there were no more appa-"ritions in that house" [1].

Thus we learn, when a tree-spirit in human shape is wounded, the wound shows itself in the corresponding part of the tree. So, also, as we have seen on page 549, when men transformed into animals are wounded, the wound is visible on the same limb of their human body, and their dangerous character is thus disguised. Here is another illustration of that trait of tree-spirit lore:

"To the north-west of Lin-lai a Buddhist convent stood, where "a monk, named Chi-t'ung, regularly sank into dhyâna-abstraction

---

[1] 太和中有從事江夏者、其官舍常有怪異。每夕見一巨人、身盡黑甚光、見之卽悸而病死。後有許元長者、善視鬼、從事命元長以符術考召、後一夕元長坐於堂西軒下。巨人忽至、元長出一符飛之、中其臂、剝然有聲、遂墮於地。巨人卽去、元長視其墮臂乃一枯木枝。至明日有家僮謂元長曰、堂之東北隅有枯樹焉、先生符今在其上、卽往視之、其樹有枝梢折者、果巨人所斷臂也、卽伐而焚之、宅遂無怪. *Sien-shih chi*; K K, ch. 415.

"with the Saddharma-pundarîka Sutra in his hands, every evening "sitting down thus in some quiet spot in the cool forest, whither "hardly any one came. When several years had elapsed, it hap- "pened one night that a man strolled around the convent, "calling out the monk's name, till daylight broke. He did so again "till the third night, when his voice penetrated the door, so "that Chi T'ung could not help asking: 'wherefore do you call "me? come in and tell me'. It was a being of more than six "ch'ih, wearing a black robe, with a blue face, wide-opened eyes, "and big lips. On seeing the monk it also joined its hands "together, and Chi-t'ung having regarded it sharply for a while, "said: 'are you cold? come here by the fire'. The being sat down, "while Chi-t'ung went on reciting his holy book.

"Towards the fifth watch, the creature, sleepy under the influence "of the fire, snored loudly by the stove with closed eyes and gaping "mouth. Seeing it in this condition, Chi-t'ung took his incense-spoon "and put some hot ashes into its mouth. With a loud shriek "it jumped up, ran off to the sill of the gate, and there was a "sound in the hill behind the convent as if it stumbled. Chi-t'ung "searched that spot next morning, and found a piece of bark. "Then, in search of the creature, he ascended the hill, and saw, "some miles off, a large green Sterculia, the branches of which "were quite fresh, but a dent in the root looked as if freshly "chipped. He placed the piece of bark upon that spot, and "found that it fitted the dent perfectly, leaving no trace of a "chip. Halfway up the trunk a woodcutter had cut out a step in "the tree, over six ts'un in depth; this was the mouth of the "spectre, for it was full of ashes and fire still glimmering and "sparkling. Chi-t'ung set fire to the tree therewith, and from that "moment the spectre ceased to appear" [1].

---

[1] 臨瀕西北有寺、寺僧智通常持法華經入禪、每晏坐必求寒林靜境、殆非人所至。經數年忽夜有人環其院呼智通、至曉聲方息。歷三夜聲侵戶、智通不耐應曰、汝呼我何事、可入來言也。有物長六尺餘、皂衣青面張目巨吻。見僧初亦合手、智通熟視良久、謂曰、爾寒乎、就是向火。物亦就坐、智通但念經。

至五更物爲火所醉因閉目開口據爐而鼾。智

The dangerous character of tree-devils manifests itself in nothing so much as in their being very frequently the causes of disease and death. Their position as demons of illness has been illustrated already by a tale on page 655; here are two to the same effect, from a book of the ninth century of our era: — "Some ten miles "south of the district city of Kiao-ch'ing there were always nocturnal "apparitions, producing much consternation and illness among the "people, and even cases of death. The villagers had been afflicted "thereby a long time, when one of them, walking in the dark with a "bow and arrows, saw south of the city a monster like a giant in "human form, dressed in red, with a black kerchief over its head. "It approached him at a slow pace in a stooping attitude, like a "very drunken man; whereupon the villager in his consternation "drew his bow to its full strength and let fly an arrow, which "hit the spectre. It made away, and the other, as soon as his "fright had subsided a little, took to his heels in a northerly "direction, and reached an inn, where he related his adventure. "Next morning he saw by the city, to the west of the moat, a red "Cassia with an arrow sticking in it, which he recognized for his "own. He pulled it out to take it home, and found much blood "adhering to the point. The district magistrate, being informed of "the matter, ordered the tree to be burnt; and from that moment "no further evil occurred southward of the city" [1].

---

通視之乃以香匙舉灰火實其口中。物大呼起走至閤、若蹶聲其寺背山。智通及明視蹶處、得木皮一片。登山尋之、數里見大青桐樹、梢已童矣、其下四根若新鈌然。僧以木皮附之、合無蹤隙。其半有薪者創成一蹬深六寸餘、蓋魅之口、灰火滿其中、火猶熒熒。智通以焚之、其怪自絕.
*Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, supplement, ch. 1.

[1] 交城縣南十數里常夜有怪見、於人多悖而病且死焉。里人患之久矣、其後里中人有執弧矢夜行者、縣南見一魁然若巨人狀、衣朱衣、以皂巾蒙其首。緩步而來、欹偃若甚醉者、里人懼卽引滿而發、果中焉。其怪遂退、里人懼少解、卽北走至旅舍、且語其事。明日抵縣城見郭之西丹桂有一矢貫其上、果里人之矢。取之以歸、

— "On the eastern Loh river (near Loh-yang) stood an old "house, the hall and main room of which, decorated with windows of "perforated masonry and steps, were particularly spacious. The people "dwelling there had met with violent deaths so often, that it stood "empty, firmly bolted. For a long time it had been in this con- "dition, when the Minister in constant attendance on the Throne, "Lu Khien from Fan-yang, became a Censor in the Ching yuen "period (A.D. 785—804), and was appointed to the censorship in "the east (*i. e.* in Loh-yang). Desiring to purchase that house, "he lodged in it. Some one said to him: 'this house is haunted "and not habitable'; but he retorted: 'I can by my nature put "an end to that'.

"Then one night he laid himself to sleep in the hall, accom- "panied by an underling, and told his servants to abide quite outside "the gate. A brave man that underling was, an excellent archer; "he sat down with his bow and arrows under the window "in front[1].

"In the dead of night somebody was heard knocking at the gate. "The underling at once asked what was the matter, and the "answer came: 'here is a messenger with a letter from the com- "mander Yang (or Willow, a family-name) to the censor Lu'. Then, "as Khien answered no further, the letter was thrown through the "perforated brickwork. Khien ordered the underling to read it; it "ran as follows: 'I have dwelt here for a year; this hall and main "room with the perforated brickwork and steps are my dwelling; "the spirits of this gate and these doors are my subordinates; is "it then just and right of you, sir, to intrude into my house? If "you had a house and I entered it, would you approve of that?

---

鏃有血甚多。白於縣令、令命焚之、由是縣南無患. *Sūen-shih chi*; TS, sect. 草木, ch. 244.

[1] 東洛有故宅、其堂奥軒級甚宏特。然居者多暴死、是以空而鍵之。且久、故右散騎常侍范陽盧虔貞元中爲御史、分察東臺。嘗欲貿其宅而止焉。或曰、此宅有怪、不可居、虔曰、吾自能弭之。

後一夕虔與從吏同寢其堂、命僕使盡止於門外。從吏勇悍善射、於是執弓矢坐前軒下。

"you do not fear me, but should not you rather cherish some "sense of shame? be quick, get away from here, sir, lest you call "down upon you the disgrace of being destroyed'.

"No sooner was this letter read than it dispersed in all directions "as if carried away by the air, just like flying ashes. And on a "sudden another voice rang out: 'the commander Willow desires "to call on the censor Lu'; and there he was, a tall spectre "several tens of fathoms high, standing erect in the courtyard, "with a gourd in his hand. But the underling had already bent "his bow with all his strength; the arrow whirred, but hit the "gourd. And the spectres made off, leaving his gourd behind.

"After a while it came back, and with its hands on the brick-"work stooped down to peep through it, showing a face of "very singular description. The underling shot again, and sent the "arrow into its breast. The spectre started and, seized with fright, "ran away in an easterly direction. Next morning Khien ordered "his men to track its footprints. These led them to an empty plot "of ground on the east of the house. Here they found a willow "over a hundred feet high, with an arrow sticking in it. This was "the so-called commander Willow. Khien had the tree chopped "for fuel, and from that moment no more evil befell the inmates "of that house.

"After another year the hall and rooms were being repaired, "when they found under its roof-tiles a gourd, over a chang in "size, with an arrow sticking in its handle. This was the gourd "which the commander had carried in his hand"[1].

---

[1] 夜將深、聞有叩門者。從吏卽問之、應聲曰、柳將軍遣奉書於盧侍御。虔不應已而投一幅書軒下。虔命從吏視其字云、吾家於此有年矣、堂奧軒級皆吾之居也、門神戶靈皆吾之疑也、而君突入吾舍豈其理耶、假令君有舍、吾入之可乎、旣不懼吾、寧不愧於心耶、君速去、勿招敗亡之辱。

讀旣畢、其書飄然四散、若飛燼之狀。俄又聞有言者、柳將軍願見盧御史、已而有大鬲至、身長數十尋、立庭下、手執一瓢。其從吏卽引滿而發、中所執瓢。其鬲遂退、委其瓢。

Writers on tree-devils follow the lines of the preceding narratives as a rule. It would in consequence become tedious to quote more of their tales. Let us conclude with the statement, that to this day the belief in tree-spirits dangerous to man is obviously strong. In southern Fuhkien it deters people from felling any large trees or chopping off heavy branches, for fear the indwelling spirit may become irritated and visit the aggressor or his neighbours with disease and calamity. Especially respected are the evergreen banyan or *ch'ing* 榕, the biggest trees to the found in that part of China. In Amoy some people even show a strong aversion from planting trees, the planters, as soon as the stems have become as thick as their necks, being sure to be throttled by the indwelling spirits. No explanation of this curious superstition was ever given us. It may account to some extent for the almost total neglect of forestry in that part of China, so that hardly any except spontaneous trees grow there.

---

久之又來、撫軒而立、俯其首窺焉、貌甚異。從吏又射之、中其胸。厲驚、若有懼遂東向而去。至明庑命窮其跡。至宅東隙地。見柳高百餘尺、有一矢貫其上。所謂柳將軍也。庑伐其薪、自此其宅居者無恙。

後歲餘因重構堂室、於屋瓦下得一瓢、長約丈餘、有矢貫其柄。卽將軍所執之瓢也。*Sŭen-shih chi.*

## CHAPTER VII.

### LIFELESS THINGS AS SPECTRES.

The animation of what we call lifeless things or dead matter passes in China for undisputable reality. We also know from Chapter XIII of the first Part of this Book, that the soul of a thing is able to appear and work outside the same as a man or animal, or that it may make that thing a living and working being, especially if the thing is an image. Such conceptions or doctrines lead directly to the belief that lifeless things may exercise baneful demoniacal influences, or, in plain terms, may haunt, and harass mankind.

We find such "object-spectres", like animal-spectres, mentioned in books as tsing or vital spirits (see p. 10), and their visitations as tsing kwai, "apparitions of tsing" (comp. p. 429). In this class of demons a large category consists of the ground-spectres already treated of in Chapter IV, which, nestling in heavy things seldom moved, may be irritated by shifting these, and vent their wrath by attacking pregnant women and babies. The general belief in the existence of these spectres does not, however, imply that every indwelling ghost of an object is a ground-demon.

Spirits of lifeless things manifest their pernicious existence very often by announcing untoward events, which therefore, according to illogical simple minds, they actually prepare and cause. Very often we read in books of cases of death, conflagrations, or calamities of any kind having occurred as a consequence of things tumbling over without any apparent cause, or after the apparition of strange objects in indistinct hazy forms, as clots of blood, extraordinary colours or coloured things in the air, clouds or vapours within dwellings and abroad. In many cases all doubts concerning the animation of such things were removed by their emission of a glare, or, much more often, by their showing themselves for some moments in a shape which, as we know from Chapter XIII of Part I, souls of objects mostly possess, viz. that of a man or a beast. Koh Hung

(see p. 601) mentioned ill-boding, evil-brewing spectres of gold and jade in the forms of women, infesting mountains and forests. We read of miniature men or animals of stone or iron, appearing and vanishing as living spectres; and according to an old work, "it has occurred in Kiang-hwai that a woman, who, being lewd, "cherished thoughts which she could not dismiss, and which always "infatuated her day and night, saw, on rising in the morning, "two young lads behind her house, very fresh and clean, resembling "court pages; she was just going to clasp them in her arms, when "on a sudden they became brooms, which she thereupon burned [1]. Thus hysterical hallucinations are seriously taken for women-seducing ghosts. Still worse may lifeless things behave. "Tsiang Wei-yoh "feared neither devils, nor spirits. Once sleeping alone under a "window, he heard human voices outside. 'Are you wronged "spectres?' he exclaimed with a curse, 'if so, walk in and see "me; but if you are spectres without any business here, then it "is unseemly to frighten me'. On these words the spectres burst "in the door, and were about to step on his bed, when they "saw Wei-yoh's intrepid attitude, and retired to the wall of the "apartment. They were seven strong. He asked them wherefore "they stood there, and receiving no answer, attacked them with "his pillow. Then they ran away alltogether through the door, "and he ran after them, only to see them disappear in the court-"yard. Next day he turned up the ground, and found seven broken "wheel-spokes" [2].

— "And in the Khai ch'ing period (836—841) it occurred "that the family of Shih Tsung-wu, the Assistant Commander of "Kwei-lin, a good bowman from his youth, were visited by a

---

[1] 江淮有婦人、爲性多慾存想不捨、日夜常醉。旦起見屋後二少童、甚鮮潔、如宮小吏者、婦因欲抱持、忽成掃帚、取而焚之. *Yiu ming luh*; KK, ch. 368.

[2] 蔣惟岳不懼鬼神。嘗獨臥窻下、聞外有人聲。岳祝云、汝是冤魂、可入相見、若是閑鬼、無宜相驚。於是窣然排戶而欲昇其牀、見岳不懼、旋正壁下。有七人焉。問其所爲立、而不對、岳以枕擊之。皆走出戶、因走趁、沒於庭中。明日掘之、得破車輻七枚. *Kwang i ki*; KK, ch. 369.

"contagious malignant disease, which left scarce any of the elder "and younger people among them hale and sound. Daily, in the "dead of night, they saw a man come from outside, enveloped by "a glare of light, whose arrival was a signal for the sufferers to "cry and to moan more bitterly. As no physician could effect a "cure, Tsung-wu one evening took his bow, and watched the "door, in wait for the spectre. Suddenly it arrived; Tsung-wu "took aim, and the first shot took effect, scattering the demon's "flaming light into sparks. He then called for a torch to inspect, and "they found a candlestick of camphor wood, in use among the family "for a long time, knocked over. They chopped it into fragments, "which they burned, strewing the ashes into the river; whereupon "the patients entirely regained their health" [1].

The mountain-devils treated in Chapter II, so notorious in China for the dangerous tricks they play on men, have been known for centuries to change themselves into objects for evil purposes. "In "the first year of the Yuen kia period of the Sung dynasty "(A.D. 424), a Fuh-yang man of the Wang clan had made a "crab-weir in a dry canal, and going to look at it in the morning, "found a block of wood in it, some two ch'ih in size, and a gap "through which the crabs had all escaped. He repaired the weir "and cast the log upon the bank; but next morning it was again "in the weir, and the latter was broken as before. A second time "he mended it, and threw out the block; and next morning there "was the same tale to tell. No wonder that he took the thing "for a spectre. He put it into his crab-basket, fastened the cover "on the latter, and thus carried it home, saying he would chop "it there in pieces and burn them. When still two or three miles "from his dwelling, he heard in the basket a confused movement. "He turned his head to look, and — the wood had become a

[1] 開成中桂林裨將石從武、少善射、家染惡疾、長幼罕有全者。每深夜見一人自外來、體有光曜、若此物至則疾者呼吟加甚。醫莫能效、從武他夕操弓映戶、以候其來。俄而精物復至、從武射之、一發而中、焰光星散。命燭視之、乃家中舊使樟木燈擎已倒矣。乃劈而燔之、棄灰河中、於是患者皆愈. *Kwei-lin fung-t'u ki* 桂林風土記, Description of Land and Customs in Kwei-lin, in Kwangsi province: quoted in K K, ch. 370.

"being with a human face and a body like a monkey, with one "hand and one foot. 'I am instinctively fond of crabs', it said to "Wang, 'so I entered the water to-day, broke into your weir, and "ate the crabs; I have committed an offence against you, but "please pardon me, sir; open the basket and let me out; I am a "hill-spirit; I will help you and cause you to catch in your weir the "biggest crabs'. 'You molest and worry us here', Wang replied; "'this is not the only crime you have committed in course of "time; this shall cost you your life, for certain'. In divers terms "the being begged to be let free, but Wang simply looked into "its face without answering. Then it said: 'which is your family-"name and your name, sir? I want to know them', and it asked "this question over and over again; but Wang gave no answer. "On nearing the house, the being muttered: 'he does not let me "free, nor does he give me his names, what then can I contrive "to do? if he only answers, he is a dead man'. On reaching "home, Wang kindled a fire and burned the thing, whereupon it "was permanently laid, and never again uttered a sound. According "to the country-people, it was a hill-sao; they say, that if such a "being knows a man's names, it can strike and wound him, and "hence it was that it asked so urgently for Wang's, intending to "harm the man, and thus liberate itself" [1].

---

[1] 宋元嘉初富陽人姓王於窮瀆中作蟹籪、旦往觀之、見一材、長二尺許、在籪中、而籪裂開、蟹出都盡。乃修治籪、出材岸上、明往視之、材復在籪中、籪敗如前。王又治籪出材、明晨視、所見如初。王疑此材妖異。乃取內蟹籠中、攣頭、擔歸、云至家當斧斫燃之。未至家二三里聞籠中倅倅動。轉頭顧視、見向材頭變成一物、人面猴身、一手一足。語王曰、我性嗜蟹、此日實入水破君蟹籪、入籪食蟹、相負已爾、望君見恕、開籠出我、我是山神、當相佑助、并令籪得大蟹。王曰、汝此暴人、前後非一罪、自應死。此物種類轉請乞放、王廻顧不應。物曰、君何姓名、我欲知之、頻問不已、王遂不答。去家轉近物曰、既不放我、又不告我姓名、當復何計、但應就死

Tales of a nature similar to the few quoted above occur in Chinese books in considerable numbers, also in those of modern date. Sui Yuen *e. g.* relates:

"When passenger-ships in the Poh-yang lake were surprised by "a gale, there always appeared a black cable resembling a dragon, "to beat them, and they invariably incurred damage. It was called "the Cable-general. For a series of years sacrifices had been offered "to it, when in the tenth of the Yung ching period (1732), "during a long drought, in a spot where the lake stood dry, a "rotten rope was found lying across the sand. A farmer chopped "it to pieces and burned them, so that all the liquid it contained "disappeared and the blood gushed out; and from that time the "Cable-general no more caused any spectral evil, and the crews "accordingly no more presented any offerings to him" [1].

We read of whole gangs of anthropomorphous spectres of large or small dimensions, spreading consternation and fear, and being later on found to be leaves blown about by the wind. We read of people overhearing conversations in the dead of night, which at daybreak were discovered to have been held by utensils or other things, and were no more heard after the things had been burned or utterly destroyed. For reasons which we need not explain, ming khi (page 6) or vessels and other articles placed with the dead in their graves, are often described as doing harm in the shape of spectres, and returning to their real shape when beaten or hacked, stabbed or shot. Lids of coffins have shot through the air, wounding people or crushing them to death, and they could not be laid but by burning the coffins and their contents. A great number of such flying object-spectres emitted a nauseous smell of decaying human or animal matter, and when touched were found to be soft and slippery. Objects which were in the

---

耳。王至家熾火焚之、後寂然無復聲。土俗謂之山獠、云知人姓名則能中傷人、所以勤勤問王、欲害人自免. *Shen shen hei ki*, ch. 7.

[1] 鄱陽湖客舟遇風、常有黑纜如龍撲舟而來、舟必損傷。號纜將軍。年年致祭、雍正十年大旱、湖水乾處有朽纜橫臥沙上。農人斫而燒之、涎盡血出、從此纜將軍不復作祟、而舵工亦不復致祭矣. *Tsze puh yu*, ch. 18.

possession of ancestors, may recall the remembrance of these to superstitious minds, that is to say, haunt them. "Liu Hüen, who "lived in the city of Yueh, was surprised to see after sunset a "being come, with black breeches and coat. He took a torch, and saw "that its face and head lacked the seven apertures, so that it "ran blindly against everything. He asked a soothsayer to consult "the divining stalks about this event, who said: 'this is a thing "coeval with your forefathers; if it exists any longer, it will become "a spectre and murder men, but having no eyes yet, you may still "ward it off in time'. Liu caught it and tied it with a rope, and "dealt it several blows with a sword, whereupon it changed into a "pillow, which was discovered to date from his grandfather's time"[1].

Rotten wood and old brooms may haunt houses in China as incendiary spectres. "In the year ting-mao, Liu Wei, Governor "of Lü-cheu, was removed to Kiangsi to administer the govern- "ment there. After his departure great conflagrations broke out in "that province, and certain beings from time to time wandered "about at night with torches. As it was found impossible to arrest "them, some were killed with arrowshots, and thereupon seen to "be coffin-boards, rotten wood, old brooms, and such like things. "This discovery still more disheartened the people of that province, "and it was not until several months afterwards, when Chang Tsung "became Governor of Lü-cheu, that the conflagrations ceased"[2].

We need not remind our readers, that objects are assimilated in China with real men and beasts especially vividly when they represent these by their shape. As a consequence, images are firmly believed to be capable of haunting; Chinese books contain many tales which show that this conclusion is correct. "There was

[1] 劉玄居越城、日暮忽見一著烏袴褶來。取火、面首無七孔而莽撞然。乃請師筮之、師曰、此是家先代時物、久則爲魅殺人、及其未有眼目可早除之。劉因執縛、刀斷數下、乃變爲一枕、此乃是祖父時枕也. *Tsih i ki*; K K, ch. 368.

[2] 丁卯歲廬州刺史劉威移鎮江西。既去任而郡中大火、而往往有持火夜行者。捕之不獲、或射之殪、就視之乃棺材板腐木敗帚之類。郡人愈恐、數月除張宗爲廬州刺史、火災乃止. *Ki shen luh*; K K, ch. 373.

"in the house of Lu Tsan-shen a porcelain figure of a bride. "When it had been there for some years, his wife jokingly told it "to become her husband's concubine, and from that moment Lu "was agitated, and always saw a woman lying within his bed-"curtains. When this had frequently taken place, it occurred "to him that the porcelain statue might be haunting him; hence "he sent it to a monastery, to be worshipped there with sacrifices. "Next morning, the servant in employ there swept the temple-hall "and saw a woman, and asking her where she came from, she said "she was the concubine of Lu Tsan-shen, sent hither because "the principal wife was jealous of her'. And then seeing there "one of Lu's family, that servant told him about the concubine, "which induced Lu Tsan-shen to interrogate him on every point; "thus he learned that the man had seen her in the same dress "and with the same countenance as those of the image. He then "ordered this to be smashed to pieces, and — at its heart there "was a spot containing blood, as large as a fowl's egg" [1].

— "At the north gate of Kia-hwo (Hunan pr.) there was a "Children's bridge, so called because at the four corners the "balustrades ended in images of children, cut in the stone. The "date of its erection is unknown, but when that year was long "passed, it gave forth spectral apparitions. This sometimes occurred "in the night; they knocked at the doors and asked for food, or "in the moonshine strolled and gambolled in the bazaar, where "people often saw them. Once some brave and hardy fellows "secretly watched them at nightfall, and actually saw the second "and the third stone child slowly descend from the bridge. With "loud cries of spectres! spectres! they hurried after them with "their swords, till they reached the statues and hacked away their "heads; and from that time the visitations ceased" [2].

---

[1] 盧贊善家有一瓷新婦子。經數載其妻戲謂曰、與君爲妾、盧因爾惘惘、恒見一婦人臥於帳中。積久、意是瓷人爲祟、送往寺中供養。有童人曉于殿中掃地、見一婦人、問其由來、云是盧贊善妾、爲大婦所妬送來在此。其後見盧家人至、因言妾事、贊善窮覈本末、所見服色是瓷人。遂命擊碎、心頭有血、大如雞子. *Kwang i ki*; K K, ch. 368.

[2] 嘉和北門有孩兒橋、橋欄四角皆刻石孩兒、

— "A military judge of Yueh-cheu, Liu Ch'ung by name, was "suddenly smitten with ulcers in his head, which caused him to "moan and sigh in a manner intolerably piteous. He called a "doctor of arts. This man contemplated him in the night, and "said: 'there is a woman, dressed in a green petticoat; she does "not answer my questions; she is under your window; have her "removed without delay'. Ch'ung searched the place under his window, "but saw nothing except a porcelain singing-girl accurately modelled, "the ornaments of which were of green porcelain. They pounded "it in an iron mortar and burned the powder, on which the ulcers "healed" [1].

— "During the reign of the T'ang dynasty it chanced in "the capital of the empire, that one Wei Hiun spent a holiday "at home in his study reading the Wradja Sutra, when he saw "outside the gate a woman, three chang in size, wearing a "purple petticoat. She scaled the wall and straightway entered the "house. She seized that gentleman by his hair, pulled him to the "ground and pushed him with her hands, but he firmly clasped "the Sutra in his arms, and thus, though trembling all over with "fright, managed to extricate himself. While thus being dragged, "all the inmates of the house were running after him, crying at "the spectre, thus causing it to take refuge in a large dung-heap. "The gentleman was by this time quite blue all over, and "his tongue was hanging out of his mouth more than a foot; "the inmates of the house bore him into his closet, and it was "long before he recovered his senses. Hereupon they had the dung-"heap turned up by the villagers to a depth of some feet, and

---

因名之。不知何時所建、歲時既久遂出爲怪。或夜出、叩人門戶求食、或于月夜遊戲於市、人多見之。一夕有膽勇者至夜密伺、果見其二三石孩兒徐徐自橋而下。遂大呼有鬼、以刀逐至其處、斫去其頭、怪遂絶. *Kwah i chi*; TS, sect. 神異, ch. 319.

[1] 越州兵曹柳崇忽瘍生於頭、呻吟不可忍。於是召術士。夜觀之云、有一婦女緑裙、問之不應、在君窻下、急除之。崇訪窻下、止見一瓷妓女、極端正、緑瓷爲飾。遂於鐵臼擣碎而焚之、瘡遂愈. *Chao yé ts'ien tsai.*

"found a figure of a bride in it, made of patches of cloth, with a "red petticoat on and a white coat. They burned it in a place "where five roads met, and thus put an end to its visitations"[1].

Among the images which sometimes haunt mankind, we find also mentioned the large paper Rescuers of the Country, which, as we remember (see pp. 160 *sqq.* of Book I), are carried in front of funeral processions to drive away spectres. It seems strange that these images, instead of honestly doing what they are made for, should on the contrary themselves act as devils; but the impression which their hideous appearance makes on simple minds, is strong enough to create the conviction that they may prowl about as living demons. "Hwan Yen-fan, prince of Fu-yang[2], went out "with some guests to take part in a drinking bout among the lakes. "At sunset his guests dispersed, but he and a few others were "so dead drunken that they had to sleep among the lakes. After "the second watch there suddenly appeared a being upward of "a chang in size and more than ten spans in circumference, "with a halberd in his hand. With furious looks and loud cries it "made up straight to Fan and his comrades, all of whom kept "themselves hidden and did not stir. But Fan possessed courage "and strength. He sprang to his feet, yelling and shouting, and "with his fists up advanced, thus causing that being to turn "tail and run away. Chancing to see a big willow, he broke "off a branch and fell on the spectre, dealing it blows which "sounded as if they fell on a hollow object; but he had to give "it a good number of them before it fled on all fours. With "increased vigour Fan pursued it, till it sank into an old grave-

---

[1] 唐京兆韋訓暇日於其家學中讀金剛經、忽見門外緋裙婦人、長三丈。踰牆而入、逕投其家。先生爲捽髮曳下地、又以手捉訓、訓以手抱金剛經、遍身倉卒得免。先生被曳、至一家人隨而呼之、乃得其鬼走入大糞堆中。先生遍身已藍澱色、舌出長尺餘、家人扶至學中、久之方蘇。率村人掘糞堆中深數尺、乃得一緋裙白衫破帛新婦子。焚於五達衢、其怪遂絶焉. *Kwang i ki*: K K, ch. 368.

2 A biogeaphy of this famous grandee of the eighth century occurs in ch. 120 of the New Books of the Tang dynasty, and in ch. 91 of the Old Books.

"pit. When the day dawned our heroes approached, and saw that "they had to do with a broken Rescuer" [1].

And a tale of an incident assigned to the middle of the eighth century, runs as follows:

"Teu Puh-i was Vice-president or Chancellor of a Board, and "being about to ask leave to retire on account of old age, returned "home. His home was in T'ai-yuen (Shansi pr.), where his house "stood by the north wall, in the Yang-khüh district. He was a "bold man, brave and strong. Some miles north-east from T'ai-yuen "city the land was incessantly haunted by a road-spectre, two "chang in height, usually appearing when the atmosphere had "been obscured by thick rain. People who saw it sometimes died "of fright. Young people had promised more than five thousand "coins to him who dared go and shoot it, but no one responded "to this call, except Puh-i, who offered to go. Just before dark he "set out. The crowd said: 'this man will hide himself somewhere "when outside the city, and then cheat us with the tale that he "shot it; must we then believe it?' And they secretly followed him [2].

"Puh-i reached the haunted place just when the spectre came "out. He pursued it, and shot an arrow into its body, and the "spectre feeling itself hit, ran away. But Puh-i ran after it, and

---

[1] 扶陽王桓彥範嘗與諸客遊俠飲於荒澤中。日暮諸客罷散、範與數人大醉、遂臥澤中。二更後忽有一物、長丈餘、大十圍、手持矛戟。瞋目大喚直來趨範等、衆皆俯伏不動。範有膽力。乃奮起、叫呼張拳而前、其物乃返走。遇一大柳樹、範手斷一枝、持以擊之、其聲策策如中虛物、數下乃匍匐而走。範逐之愈急、因入古塚中。洎明就視、乃是一敗方相焉 *Kwang i ki*; K K, ch. 372.

[2] 竇不疑爲中郎、將告老歸家。家在太原、宅於北郭陽曲縣。不疑爲人勇有膽力。大原城東北數里常有道鬼、身長二丈、每陰雨昏黑後多出。人見之或怖而死。諸少年言曰能往射道鬼者與錢五千餘、人無言、惟不疑請行。迨昏而往。衆曰、此人出城便潛藏而後紿我以射、其可信乎。盡密隨之。

"hit it twice more, whereupon it threw itself into a ravine. Puh-i "returned, and was met by the crowd with merry laughter: they "gave him the money, and Puh-i spent it on a drinking-bout. "The next day they set out to seek the being he had shot, and "in the ravine they found a Rescuer of king twigs, with the "three arrows buried in its flanks. Since this incident the road-"spectre had disappeared" [1].

In the next Part of this Book, devoted to Sorcery, the reader will hear again of images and other objects working as spectres in the employ of people desiring to do harm to others by their intermediacy.

---

[1] 不疑既至魅所、鬼正出行。不疑逐而射之、鬼被箭走。不疑追之、凡中三矢、鬼自投于岸下。不疑乃還、諸人笑而迎之、因授之財、不疑盡以飲焉。明日往尋所射、岸下得一方相、身則編荊也、其傍仍得三矢。自是道鬼遂亡. *Ki wen*: KK, ch. 371.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## DEMONISM IN PATHOLOGY.

A perusal of the foregoing chapters will have convinced the reader that spectres, naturally performing in the Universe the leading part in the distribution of evil, in particular visit mankind with disease. We have so often seen them represented by Chinese authors as doing so, that it seems superfluous to devote any further attention to this point, were it not that they are also acknowledged as authors of illness by the Chinese system of pathology and medical art, so that this opinion of China's leading men in these branches of knowledge demands our attention.

The belief in spectres as authors of disease is of long standing in China. Chwang-tszĕ by a curious tale proves that it prevailed in his age, and was then shared even by men of the highest rank. "The ruler Hwan (of Ts'i, 683—642 B. C.) was hunting "beside a marsh, with Kwan Chung driving his carriage, and saw "a spectre. Grasping Kwan Chung's arm, he said: 'do you see it, "father Chung?' 'Your servant sees nothing', was the reply. The "ruler then returned, giggling and smitten with sickness, so that "he did not go out for several days. Among the officers of Ts'i "there was one Hwang-tszĕ Kao-ngao, who said: 'Your Grace is "injuring yourself — how could a ghost injure you! ..... The "ruler Hwan then said: 'yes, but do there exist spectres?' The "officer replied: 'yes; in the mud there are li, about furnaces "hieh, and in the dust-heap inside the door the lei-t'ing dwell; "in low places in the north-east the pei-o and the wa-lung "hop about, and in low places in the north-west the yih-yang "dwell; in the waters the wang-siang live (see p. 521), in the "hills the chen, in the mountains the khwei (see p. 496), in "the fields the fang-hwang[1], about the marshes the wei snakes'.

---

1 A commentator of the surname Szĕ-ma 司馬, evidently a great authority in matters relating to ghosts, says that wa-lung have the shape of a child of one foot and four inches, with black clothes, a red turban, a sword, and a spear; a

"'Let me ask your what is the appearance of a wei snake', said "the ruler. 'It is as thick as the nave of a wheel, and is the "length of the shaft; it wears a purple robe and a red cap; it "is a being which dislikes the noise of the rolling thunder, and "when it hears this it puts both its hands to its head and stands "up; he who sees it is likely to become a chief among the "feudatories'. The ruler smiled, laughed, and said: 'this was what "I saw'. On this he duly arranged his robe and cap and made "Hwang-tszĕ sit with him. Before the end of the day his illness "had insensibly passed away"[1].

The antiquity of the belief in demons of disease is illustrated also by the fact, noticed on page 499, that traditions, preserved by authors contemporary with the Han dynasty, assigned special health-destroying functions to three deceased sons of a mythic emperor of the twenty-sixth century before our era, describing them as distributers of fever and plagues, which by their frequency and destructiveness must always have deeply impressed the Chinese mind. In the sixth chapter of the writings of Lieh-tszè we find a description of visits of three doctors to a sick friend of Yang Chu (see Book I, p. 684), two of whom declared his disease not to be

---

yih-yang has the head of a leopard or a dog, and the tail of a horse; a chen or sin 莘 is a dog with horns and a striped, five-coloured body, and a fang-hwang is a snake with two heads and five-coloured stripes. Other descriptive information about those spirits we have not so far discovered.

[1] 桓公田於澤、管仲御、見鬼焉。公撫管仲之手、曰、仲父何見。對曰、臣無所見。公反誒詒爲病、數日不出。齊士有皇子告敖者曰、公則自傷、鬼惡能傷公。。。桓公曰、然、則有鬼乎。曰有、沈有履、竈有髻、戶內之煩壤雷霆處之、東北方之下者倍阿鮭蠪躍之、西北方之下者則泆陽處之、水有罔象、邱有崒、山有夔、野有彷徨、澤有委蛇。公曰、請問委蛇之狀何如。皇子曰、委蛇其大如轂、其長如轅、紫衣而朱冠、其爲物也惡聞雷車之聲、則捧其首而立、見之者殆乎霸。桓公鞠然而笑曰、此寡人之所見者也。於是正衣冠與之坐。不終日而不知病之去也. *Nan hwa chen king*, ch. 7, sect. 19.

caused by spectres. Still it may be noted that in the *Shih ming*, which dates from the second century of our era, it stands written, that "yih (which means epidemic, plague or contagious disease) "is the same word as yih (which means to employ); that is to "say, there are kwei that set plagues to work" [1].

Wang Ch'ung, though so generally sceptical about superstitions of his time, was quite unable to rise above those notions. "One "opinion", he writes, "is, that kwei which are visible to man are "breaths (khi) which may render him ill. Breaths not congenial "to his nature may strike him, and when they do so they become "kwei, assume human forms, and become visible. When an illness "is in its worst stage, those breaths are in the plenitude of their "intensity; in that condition they come to the patient in a human "shape, and on reaching him he may see them. Should he have "incurred his disease in a hill-forest, the kwei he sees is a forest-"spirit; one who is ill in Yueh will see in his disease men of this "region sit beside him. From this we see, that the apparitions of "Kwan Fu and Teu Ying (see p. 437) were probably breaths of "the prevailing season, assuming visible forms. . . . . And still "another opinion is that spectres take their origin from men, and "become diseases when they collide with men" [2].

Attribution of disease to spectres has never ceased to predominate in China's popular lore and pathology. From the Han dynasty onward the books of every age abound with instances of their inflicting sickness and death in various ways. They are described as announcing their arrival and presence overtly by cold, icy winds, for they belong to the Yin, which is cold; or by a noisome stench; or by tapping on doors and windows, throwing stones and other missiles, and producing mysterious sounds, preferably on house-roofs; or by calling their victims by their names; or by

---

[1] 疫役也、言有鬼行疫也. Ch. 1, sect. 1.

[2] 一曰鬼者人所見得病之氣也。氣不和者中人、中人爲鬼、其氣象人形而見。故病篤者氣盛、氣盛則象人而至、至則病者見其象矣。假令得病山林之中、其見鬼則見山林之精、人或病越地者、病見越人坐其側。由此見之灌夫竇嬰之徒或時氣之形象也。。。。一曰鬼者本生於人、與人相觸犯者病. *Lun heng*, ch. 22, 訂鬼篇.

holding dialogues clearly overheard; and such events were always readily taken by the people as the causes of the ensuing ill. The common conception, and the most natural, is that spectres occupy the bodies of those they afflict with sickness; it prevailed already in pre-Christian times, as the following anecdote of b.C. 580, narrated by the *Tso chw'en*, shows:

"The ruler (King) of Tsin dreamt of a tall demon with dishe-"velled hair reaching to the ground, which beat its breast and "stamped the ground, saying: 'you have killed my grandsons "unjustly, but I have had my request granted by the Emperor "(of Heaven)'. It then broke down the great gate, reached the "inner gate, and entered; the started ruler fled into the back "chamber, the door of which it also broke. The ruler then awoke "and called for the wu of Sang-t'ien, who told him everything "which he had dreamt. 'What does it signify?' asked the ruler. "'You will not taste the new wheat', she replied.

"And the ruler became ill. He asked Ts'in for a doctor, and "the ruler of this kingdom sent the physician Hwan to treat "him. Before this man arrived, the ruler dreamt that his illness was "caused by two boys, who said: 'he is a skilful physician; I fear "he will hurt us; shall we run away?' Then one of them said: "'if we nestle above his diaphragm and below the place which lies "above his heart, what can he do to us?' The physician arrived, "and said: 'nothing can be done for this disease, for it is settled "above his diaphragm and under the place which lies above his "heart; I cannot assail it there; (my needles or caustics?) cannot "penetrate so far; my medicines cannot reach that spot; nothing "can be done for it'. The ruler said: 'you are a skilful doctor'; "he gave him large gifts and sent him home.

"In the sixth month the ruler of Tsin wished to eat new wheat, "and made the superintendent of his fields bring him some. The cook "prepared it, and the ruler ordered the wu of Sang-t'ien to come, "showed her the wheat, and put her to death. About to eat of it, "he had a tension of the bowels; he went to the privy, fell into it, "and so died. An official of lower rank had dreamt that morning that "he carried the ruler on his back up to heaven; at noon he bore "him out of the privy, and was thereupon buried with him" [1].

---

[1] 晉侯夢大厲、被髮及地、搏膺而踊曰、殺余孫不義、余得請于帝矣。壞大門、及寢門而入、公

That diseases are considered to be demoniacal possession is also clearly showed by the following narrative from a book of the fourth or fifth century of our era: "Li Tszĕ-yü, though still young, was "an able medical expert, whose perspicacy and spirit his contem-"poraries extolled. Hü Yung was Governor of Yü-cheu, and resided "at Lih-yang when his younger brother fell ill; his heart and his "belly ached severely for more than ten years, and he was "almost dead, when one evening he overheard a spectre from "behind the screen accosting the demon within his belly. 'Why "do not you kill him immediately?' it said; 'if you do not, Li "Tszĕ-yü when passing along here will strike you with something "hitherto unused, and this will cost you your life'. On which the "spectre in the belly said: 'I do not fear him'. Next morning "Hü Yung sent somebody for Tszĕ-yü; he came, and no sooner did "he pass through the gate than the patient heard within himself "a plaintive voice. The doctor entered, saw the sufferer, and said: "'this is a demoniacal disease'. Taking a red ball, compounded of "eight poisonous substances, out of his linen box, he gave it the "sick man to swallow, and through his belly immediately rolled a "thundering noise; several times he had a copious discharge of "diarrhoea, and then he was quite well. That medicine was the "eight-poisons ball, used to this day" [1].

---

懼入于室、又壞戶。公覺召桑田巫、巫言如夢。公曰、何如。曰、不食新矣。

公疾病。求醫于秦、秦伯使醫緩爲之。未至、公夢疾爲二豎子、曰、彼良醫也、懼傷我、焉逃之。其一曰、居肓之上膏之下、若我何。醫至、曰疾不可爲也、在肓之上膏之下、攻之不可、達之不及、藥不至焉、不可爲也。公曰、良醫也、厚爲之禮而歸之。

六月晉侯欲麥、使甸人獻麥。饋人爲之、召桑田巫、示而殺之。將食、張如厠、陷而卒。小臣有晨夢負公以登天、乃日中負晉侯出諸厠、遂以爲殉. The tenth year of the reign of Ch'ing.

[1] 李子豫少善醫方、當代稱其通靈。許永爲豫州刺史、鎮歷陽、其弟得病、心腹疼痛十餘年、殆

Demons which are souls of dead men may inflict disease by means of things which their relations have placed with them in their graves. We read *e. g.* the following of Kwan Loh, the peerless soothsayer: "In his time the wife and the daughters of the prefect "of Sin-tu lived in a state of fright, and they fell ill successively. "He told Kwan Loh to divine their condition, who said: 'My lord, "on the west side of this hall two dead men lie, one with a spear, "and the other with a bow and an arrow; their heads lie inside "the wall, and their feet outside; that with the spear pierces "the heads of your family, and this is it why their heads ache so "much that they cannot even raise them; the other aims at their "breasts, whereby their hearts feel so anxious and pained that "they cannot eat or drink; in the daytime those beings soar about, "but at night they come and make people ill, striking them with "fright and anxiety'. On this they grubbed up the skeletons and "removed them elsewhere, and everybody in the house recovered"[1].

The exercise of demoniacal influence upon a man, either by possession or in any other way, is expressed in Chinese books by the same word m e i which, as our readers know (see pp. 505—507), denotes mountain or forest spectres, and also spirits in general, especially of old beings; and indeed, many pages of the three preceding chapters have taught us that it is a very common thing

---

死、忽一夜聞屏風後有鬼謂腹中鬼曰、何不速殺之、不然、李子豫當從此過、以未先打汝、汝其死矣。腹中鬼對曰、吾不畏之。及旦許永遂使人候子豫、果來、未入門病者自聞中有呻吟聲。及子豫入視曰、鬼病也。遂於巾箱中出八毒赤丸子與服之、須臾腹中雷鳴彭轉、大利數行、遂差。今八毒丸方是也. *Shen shen heu ki*, ch. VI.

[1] 時信都令家婦女驚恐、更互疾病。使輅筮之、輅曰、君此堂西頭有兩死男子、一男持矛、一男持弓箭、頭在壁內、脚在壁外、持矛者主刺頭、故頭重痛不得舉也、持弓箭者主射胸腹、故心中懸痛不得飲食也、晝則浮游、夜來病人、故使驚恐也。於是掘徙骸骨、家中皆愈. Memoirs concerning the Three Kingdoms, ch. 29, f. 15.

for spirits of animals, plants, and even objects to possess and afflict men. Mei then is, besides a noun, a verb, translatable by "to bedevil", *e. g.* in 鬼魅人, "kwei bedevil man", or in 人爲鬼所魅, "men are bedevilled by kwei"; etc. Other terms with the same meaning, likewise of frequent use, are i 依 and p'ing 憑, the primitive meaning of which is "to lean upon"; besides we have fu 附, "to attach one's self to"; t'oh 託 or lai 賴, "to rest on for support"; jan 染, "to infect", etc.

It is especially when acting as avengers of wrongs inflicted on them by men that spectres appear as authors of disease. We have already demonstrated by a special chapter (pp. 436 *sqq.*) that such vengeance mostly causes the victim to labour under delirium or frenzy, and kills him in the end; how, in truth, could it occur to the mind of the simple that the random, incoherent talk of a raving patient is other than an expression of what he really sees and feels, or that the spasmodic movements of his limbs are aught but a frantic wrestling with unseen tormentors, or symptoms of pain suffered from invisible, merciless hands? Such torturers are represented in many a tale as having told the bystanders through the mouth of the victims themselves the reason of their presence in the body; and in such cases exorcisms and medicines proved as a rule totally ineffectual.

The identity of disease with the operation of demons may have been invented in primaeval times, but it has held its place in China as a fundamental principle of pathology to this day. Pathologists, who in every age have enriched China's literature with numerous and voluminous treatises, are wont to denote therein such demoniacal work by the word sié which our readers know (see p. 466), and which, in the narrower sense of disease-inflicting, we find in the *Su wen* and the *Nan king*, the oldest compilations of Chinese medical lore we have. The word sui, likewise familiar to the reader (p. 467), has ever been the special medical term denoting the effects of the sié, and is found with this meaning in the *Tso ch'wen*, where we read that in the year 540 B.C. the ruler of Tsin was ill, and the diviners declared the cause to be that the spirits of "Shih-ch'en and T'ai-t'ai produced sui"[1]. Also the term sié sui, "sui of sié", though pleonastic, is very common in medical and other works.

---

[1] 實沈臺駘爲祟. First year of Chao's reign.

There have, however, been some authors who denied explicitly that diseases are caused by spectres, pretending with peculiar emphasis that the sié are the culprits. But if their contention proves anything, it is merely this, that the word sié has gained its position as a technical term denoting certain mysterious, uncongenial, unwholesome influences, the true character and operation of which every Chinaman, even the most learned, ignores, but which unschooled people bluntly identify with spectres, just as their ancestors always used to do.

Pathologists and other medical men divide the sié into several sorts. In particular they babble about extraneous and internal sié [1] which work respectively on man from without, or within him; accordingly they conceive the sié as capable of dwelling in men, and as the sié are practically identified with the spectres that produce them, disease thus virtually amounts to demoniacal possession.

Clear distinction is also made between yang sié, and sié which are yin. The former injure man's health by thwarting and neutralizing the yin influences which ought to work upon and within him, while the latter effect the same end by opposing his yang influences. The yang sié attack man especially in the daytime; the yin sié during the night. Particular stress is laid upon the existence of wind-sié [2]; indeed, winds disturb the weather, change the temperature, and therefore are main sources of disease, the more so as the venerable medical bible of Hwangti has decreed, once for all, that "winds are the originators of the hundred diseases that exist" [3]. Further we have sié of heat [4], which work especially in the hot season; sié of cold [5], authors of catarrhs and rheumatism; sié of humidity and vapours [6], and of drought [7]. Fire-sié [8] dry up the blood and humors, or coagulate them, and suppress perspiration; and those of the element Wood [9] manifest their unwholesome presence especially in spring, which is the season associated with Wood; — and so forth.

The theories about the ways in which those different sié operate, are many and various, but they agree on this point that all sié produce within man health-destroying tuh khi [10], "poisonous

1 外邪 and 內邪. 2 風邪.
3 風者百病之始也. *Hwang-ti su wen*, ch. III.
4 暑邪. 5 寒邪. 6 濕邪. 7 燥邪.
8 火邪. 9 木邪. 10 毒氣.

breaths or influences", or simply tuh, "poisons". If sié thus kill him, they are shah sié[1] or "murdering sié", and their poisons shah khi[2] or "murderous breaths". Authors generally admit, that should the influences of the blood, which constitute the shen, leave the body, dwindle or faint, the sié are always ready at hand to take their place; in other words, when the ching khi or "correct, normal breaths" (see page 467) retire, the sié khi, their opposites, thrust themselves into the vacant place; and as if to prove the reality of this process, the patient labours under abnormal functions and delirium, indulges in insane talk and acts. From this it follows that a man has little to fear from sié as long as the normality of his constitution is shing 盛 or "full, abundant", and strong enough to keep off the sié; not until his constitution is disturbed by one or more of the many causes of disease excogitated by Chinese brains, do the sié gain a hold upon it, and proceed to destroy him. Thus there are hardly any processes of disease in which the sié do not do their work; they seldom work therein from the outset, but play the most active and decisive part.

Spectres assailing men whom they observe to be ill, are indicated in medical works by the term shi, 尸 or 屍, which means a corpse, but in this case has to be translated by corpse-making agencies, agencies of death, mortality. Wang Ch'ung, as we have seen on page 416, already mentioned them, saying that people with an unlucky fate sometimes see "flying shi" (飛尸) or "running hiung or evil" (走凶), or human forms, altogether kwei. Elsewhere in his writings he mentions the flying shi simultaneously with "flowing hiung" (流凶)[3], and he speaks of "flying hiung" (飛凶) and "flowing shi" (流尸) gathering in the dwellings of man[4]. All these terms evidently denoted in his time one and the same thing, viz. spectres causing mortal disease.

We obtain more theory about the shi from a medical work in eight chapters, ascribed to Koh Hung, but professedly enlarged and completed by T'ao Hung-king, viz. the *Cheu heu pi kih fang*[5], "Ready and Quick Medicaments for behind the Elbow" (to be kept handy). There (ch. I, § 6) we find the shi divided into five species, which all attack men suddenly:

---

1 殺邪 or 煞邪.
2 邪氣.
3 *Lun heng*, ch. 25, § 解除.
4 *Id.*, ch. 24, § 辯祟.
5 肘後備急方.

"1. flying shi, which run through the skin and penetrate into the "viscera and mansions; whenever they work, piercing pains are felt "in changeable forms without constancy [1].

"2. hidden shi, which attach themselves to the bones, enter the "flesh, and attack and pierce the blood-vessels. When they occur, "one should not approach a corpse or make mourning visits. When "wailing and lamentation are heard they set to work [2].

"3. wind-shi, which wildly jump about on the four limbs of the "patient, so that the point at which they penetrate cannot be de-"termined. When they manifest themselves, the patient is dull and "troubled. They work when there is wind or snow [3].

"4. immerging (penetrating) shi, which coil themselves around the "viscera and the mansions, and assail the heart and the flanks, causing "at every action cramp in the former, and a cutting pain in the latter. "They work when it is cold [4].

"5. corpse-maladies; the whole body is paralyzed, the vital spirits "work abnormally and confusedly, the patient always feels dull and "weak. If the character of this disease changes at every fortnightly "period, it will suddenly bring the great evil (death)" [5].

The symptoms of the attacks of these five shi do not differ much, and therefore the same means and cures, or nearly the same, may prove effective against them all. "Those symptoms are: a swollen "abdomen with heavy pains, very difficult breathing, attacks upwards "against the heart and breast, and sidewards against the flanks" [6].

---

[1] 飛尸者遊走皮膚、洞穿藏府、每發刺痛變作無常也.

[2] 遁尸者附骨入肉、攻鑿血脉。每發不可得近見屍喪。聞哀器便作也.

[3] 風尸者淫躍四肢、不知通之所在。每發昏悅。得風雪便作也.

[4] 沉尸者纏結藏府、衝心脇、每發絞切。遇寒冷便作也.

[5] 尸注者、舉身沉重、精神錯雜、常覺慵廢。每節氣改變輒致大惡.

[6] 其狀腹痛脹急、不得氣息、上衝心胸、旁攻兩脇.

We cannot doubt that Koh Hung, or medical philosophers preceding him, arrived at the discovery of five shi simply through the fact that, as we may see on page 26, the cipher five plays an important part in the system of the Universe, in the natural ethics, and the internal construction of the human body. It is at any rate a fact that, ever since, medical authors often teach that each shi corresponds with one of the five principal colours, and with one of the five viscera and mansions in which it settles preferably. Thanks to this wise arrangement, good physicians, guided by good books, are able to ascertain at every diagnosis which of the five categories of drugs which heal the viscera they have to order from the apothecary's shop.

Again the same standard work on medicine states: "Demonish "maladies are, according to Koh Hung, the corpse-maladies which "have their place among the five shi, and they embrace also all "injury caused by kwei and sié. There are from thirty-six to "ninety-nine forms of them. In general they make man alternately "cold and hot (feverish), cause secretion of fluid matter, dejection "and speechlessness, so that it is impossible to ascertain from "him what makes him suffer, even though there is not one spot "on his body which does not ache. During the lapse of years and "months he is wasted away and his functions cease, and death is "the end of this. And after his death the disease passes over to "people about him, with the result that his whole family may be "destroyed" [1].

Beside these complaints, against which, as we may expect, Chinese doctors and their arts stand powerless, there is mentioned one, evidently contagious, called ch'wen shi 傳屍, "transmissible or inheritable shi". "This malady", says an old work, "consists in

---

[1] 鬼注病者葛云卽是五屍之中尸注、又挾諸鬼邪爲害也。其病變動乃有三十六種至九十九種。大略使人寒熱淋瀝悅悅默默、不得知其所苦、而無處不惡。累年積月漸就頓滯、以至於死。死後復傳之旁人、乃至滅門. *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 7. This passus is copied in the standard work of Sun Sze-moh 孫思邈, one of the most celebrated physicians China has possessed, also deeply versed in Taoism. He is believed to have lived from A.D. 581—682. His work is entitled *Pi kih ts'ien kin yao fang* 備急千金要方, "Ready and quick urgent Medicines a thousand gold coins worth": it contains 93 chapters.

"that the blood and breath of a man deteriorate and weaken, and "his viscera and mansions are emaciated and empty. When he is "hit by the influence of spectres and these set their sié to work, "they produce this disease" [1]. Evidently then consumptive diseases belong to this class of complaints.

But, principally, spectres are the authors of sudden diseases, which therefore are appropriately called k w e i k i h 鬼擊, "spectre-blows" or "spectral attacks". The work of Koh Hung gives the following diagnosis of them: "screwing pain within the breast, rigorous pains "in the flanks, cutting pains in the belly, which cannot be kept "under; sometimes the patient vomits blood immediately, or has "nose-bleedings, or passes blood. Such diseases are also named "k w e i p a i, "spectre pushes" [2]. Pien-ts'ioh (of the sixth century b.C. "see page 71) said that to be struck by evil (c h u n g w u h) is ana- "logous with sudden death (t s u h s z ĕ) and a spectre-blow" [3]. Sun Szĕ-moh put down these same statements to the letter in his own work, and added: "Those who become ill from a blow of a "spectre never die a slow death; it comes down upon a man like "a dagger stab [4]. Sudden attack (t s u h w u) is the same thing as "to be struck by evil, and of the same kind as sudden death and "a devil's stroke" [5].

Such c h u n g w u h 中惡 or "strokes of evil", or, unabbreviatedly, t s u h c h u n g w u h k h i 卒中惡氣 or t s u h c h u n g k w e i k h i 卒中鬼氣, "sudden strokes of evil or of spectral influences" may, come down upon a man at any moment, but especially during the night, if he has to expose himself to spectres by going out. Therefore he acts wisely if he protects himself against

---

1 傳尸者、人之血氣衰弱、臟腑羸虛。中於鬼氣因感其邪、遂成其病. *Chung ts'ang king* 中藏經, a medical treatise ascribed to Hwa T'o 華佗, an ever famous leech of the second and the third century of our era. T S, sect. 藝術, ch. 323.

2 胸脅腹內絞急切痛、不可抑按、或即吐血、或鼻中出血、或下血。一名鬼排. *Chou hou pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 4.

3 扁鵲云、中惡與卒死鬼擊亦相類. *Id.*, ch. 1, § 1.

4 鬼擊之病得之無漸卒、著人如刀刺狀. *Pi kih ts'ien kin yao fang*, sect. 鬼擊.

5 卒忤即中惡也、與卒死鬼擊相類 *Id.*, sect. 卒忤.

them by carrying a lantern on such occasions, or, better still, a flaming torch. Nocturnal excursions are hardly ever undertaken except in case of need, for instance to go to the public privy. While there, one may on a sudden feel cramp in the breast and bowels, and sink to the ground, suffocated, cold, and with spasmodic contractions of the arms and fingers; blood may even flow from the mouth and nose. In this state of suspended animation or apparent death the patient should be succoured immediately, else he will not revive. It would be dangerous to remove him from the spot before his revival; the people gathering around should forthwith set to drumming and gong-beating, and kindle thyme with incense of any kind, and spit in his face, until he comes round.

Sudden torpor, coma, trance, catalepsy, epilepsy, lethargy, convulsion, and whatever more forms spectre-blows may have, are comprised by the Chinese under the general term k ü e h 瘈(厥), and considered to be a suspended animation consequent upon the spectre having snatched away the soul. We have noted this point already on pp. 243 *seq.* of Book I, giving there also the names of two classes of such soul-thieves, and the simplest expedients resorted to to bring the soul back into their victims. In Koh Hung's book of medicine we find these complaints called s h i k ü e h or "corpse-k ü e h", and the word k ü e h written 蹶, meaning to rob or draw off, which we think can hardly be accidental or a mistake. "S h i k ü e h disease", he states, "is t s u h s z ĕ or sudden death, "but the pulse still moves, and the patient hears within his ears a "hissing or whistling sound, and his thighs are warm" [1]. Koh Hung thus placed those diseases in the class of spectre-blows, these being, as we have seen, identical with sudden death; and all medical men after him have done the same thing. It may, however, be remarked here in passing, that, as is plainly shown by Chapter VII of Part I of this Book, it is generally admitted that absence of the soul from a person by no means necessarily shows itself by vehement symptoms. The following tale is a proof of it:

"Under the Southern Ts$^{c}$i dynasty, Ma Tao-yiu, Chancellor at "Court, was seated in the palace in the first year of the Y u n g m i n g "period (A.D. 483), when suddenly he saw the place in front of him "crowded with spectres, which, however, his attendants did not

---

[1] 尸蹶之病卒死而脉猶動、聽其耳中循循如嘯聲而股間暖是也. *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 2.

"perceive. In another moment a couple of demons entered his ears, "and pushed his soul (h w u n) out of him, so that it fell down "upon his shoes. He pointed to it with his finger, asking the "attendants whether they saw it, but none of them did. On their "asking him what shape his soul had, he answered: 'it is just "like a frog. 'Surely', he continued, 'I have no longer any vital "matter in myself, and the spectres are still in my ears'. They "looked at his ears, and saw that they were quite swollen. On the "next day he was dead" [1].

Chu Chen-hing (see p. 301), who lived under the Yuen dynasty, wrote: "Corpse-k ü e h, flying s h i, and sudden k ü e h are symptoms "of a stroke of evil. If some abnormal (p u h c h i n g) influence is "offended, the hands and legs suddenly become paralyzed and cold, "the epidermis granulous, the face blue and black, and the vital "spirits do not maintain themselves in the body. The patient makes "mistakes in speaking, or utters random talk, or gets lock-jaw, or "is absent-minded and recognizes nobody, or becomes dizzy, whirls "round, and tumbles. Such are the symptoms of sudden k ü e h, "attacks of extraneous influence (k o h w u), flying s h i, and spectre-"blows. These complaints often result from visits of condolence and "to temples or graveyards" [2] — thus from contact with places where spirits abide. Chang Kiai-pin [3] of the fifteenth century also says: "Corpse-k ü e h is in every respect the symptom of a sudden stroke "of evil inflicted by extraneous s i é, such as abnormal (p u h c h i n g) "influences of the four seasons, or mountain-demons, or murderous

---

[1] 南齊馬道猷爲尚書令史、永明元年坐省中、忽見鬼滿前、而傍人不見。須臾兩鬼入其耳中、推出魂、魂落屐上。指以示人、諸君見否、傍人並不見。問魂形狀何、道猷曰、魂正似蝦蟆。云、必無活理、鬼今猷在耳中。視其耳皆腫。明日便死. K K, ch. 327, professedly from the *Shuh i ki*.

[2] 尸厥飛尸卒厥即中惡之候。因冒犯不正之氣、忽然手足逆冷、肌膚粟起、頭面青黑、精神不守。或錯言妄語、牙緊口噤、或昏不知人、頭旋運倒。此是卒厥客忤飛尸鬼擊。弔喪入廟登塚多有此病. *Sin fah* 心法 or Laws of the Heart; sect. 厥逆.

[3] 張介賓. alias Hwui-khing 會卿.

"influences of the soil, or the five shi, nightmare-spectres, and "the like" [1].

Strokes of evil, representing the worst of demonish maladies, may show themselves under various forms. Leu Ying states, that we should rank among them belly-ache, constipation or colic, asthma, distortion of the back and the hips, and so on; moreover he says:

"When a patient suddenly suffers from a dilated heart or a "swollen abdomen, without diarrhoea and vomiting, then he is "what people call 'struck by evil'. This arises from the fact "that his vital soul is incomplete and his heart and will are "constantly terror-stricken, so that he is struck by evil spirits. "Some thus possessed are dejected and silent; others utter inco-"herent and delirious talk, or slander and revile, or divulge "secrets of others, not even abstaining from deriding those whom "they are bound to respect; or they give utterance to predictions "of misfortune and felicity, but when the time of fulfilment "arrives, not one hair is lost [2]. They climb heights and cross abysses "as if they are level ground; some wail and weep, or moan and sigh, "and avoid the society of men, behaving as if drunken or crazy. "The disease shows itself in ten thousand ways, each of which is to be "examined and treated in accordance with the local customs" [3].

It is in such terms that medical men in China explicitly express their belief that patients who are delirious or have fits of

---

1 尸厥一證乃外邪卒中惡之候、凡四時不正之氣及山魈土煞五尸魘魅之屬皆是也. *King yoh ts'üen shu* 景岳全書, Complete Works from the King Mountains, where the author lived in seclusion; a voluminous medical work in sixty-four chapters. Sect. 詳繆刺論.

2 Thus, evidently, ravings of a delirious madman are occasionally received in China as predictions.

3 病者卒心腹脹滿、痢吐不行、世所謂中惡是也。由人精神不全、心志多恐、遂爲邪鬼所擊。或附著況況默默、妄言譫語、誹謗罵詈、訐露人事、不避譏嫌、口中好言未然禍福、及至其時毫髮未失。登高陟險如履平地、或悲泣呻吟、不欲見人、如醉如狂。其狀萬端、但隨方俗考驗治之. *I hioh kang muh*; TS, sect. 藝術, ch. 348.

insanity, are struck with evil, that is to say, possessed or attacked by demons. They include among such devils' strokes fever [1] or fever delirium; indeed, there is no illness of which they have formed correct notions. We have already seen on page 499 that, in accordance with an ancient tradition, fever is identified with the ghost of a son of a mythic emperor of the twenty-sixth century before our era; and here let us add, that no leading medical authorities ever have disputed its demonish origin or nature. Intermittent or typic fever, they declare, is devils or their sié entering and leaving the patient's body repeatedly, thus causing hot or yang fevers, also called "male fevers" [2], and cold or yin fits or "female fevers" [3]. Violent attacks during which the patient raves, especially if they occur at night, are explicitly styled "devil-fevers" [4]. By this name many doctors denote also the febrile or malarious epidemics which may prevail in connexion with the seasons, periodical winds or monsoons, damp and sultry weather; some, however, call devil-fevers those which rise at night, that is the time when spectres roam, and it needs no saying that uneducated people in particular adhere this theory. There exist very subtle classifications of fevers, as *e. g.* those caused by yang sié nestled within the yin soul or the yang soul of the patient, or by yin sié occupying one of these souls; but such overlearned gossip falls beyond the sphere of our interest.

From folklore still better than from scholarly theories we may learn the reality of demonry in febrile disease. "The prefect of "Shang-yuen (in Kiangsu pr.), Ch'en Ts'i-tung, once, when still "young, dwelled with one Chang in the temple of Kwanti in "T'ai-p'ing, and Chang got fever there. Ch'en, who occupied one "room with him, felt tired at noon and took a nap on a couch "opposite him, and saw outside the door a pale boy with pale clothes, "and a hat, shoes and stockings of a deep blue colour. This boy put "his head through the door and looked at Chang, and Ch'en, thinking "that he was somebody connected with the temple, did not inter- "rogate him; on a sudden Chang's fever rose, and when the boy "went away, the fever left him. The next day Ch'en was sleeping "again, and suddenly heard Chang cry deliriously, while he vomited "spittle like a bubbling spring. Ch'en, startled from his sleep, saw the

1 Nioh 瘧, kiai 咳, or shen 痁.
2 牡瘧. 3 牝瘧. 4 鬼瘧.

"boy standing before Chang's bed, making dancing gestures with his "hands and feet and merrily laughing, and casting looks upon him "as if to say that he did it on purpose. Ch'en now understood "that it was the fever-spectre. He hurried towards him to give him "a thrashing, and where his fists touched him he was untolerably "cold. The boy ran out of the room with a noise like a blast, and "Ch'en ran after him as far as the central courtyard, where he vanished. "Chang became better, but Ch'en's hands had a blackish colour as "if they were smoked, which he could not remove until some days "had elapsed" [1].

At Amoy the fear of fever-spectres is deeply ingrafted in the popular mind, and manifests itself also by a general aversion to pronouncing the name of the disease, which is *koáⁿ-jiét* [2], "cold-and-heat"; indeed, the best means to bring a devil upon one's self is to mention him. People prefer denoting fever by the term *khit-tsiáh á pīⁿᵍ* [3], "beggar's disease", hoping thereby to make its spectres think that they perfectly despise it, so that they may just as well leave off worrying them with it. The name of the disease, and therewith the disease itself, are also cleverly shelved, and thus avoided, by not asking fever-patients about their complaint, but merely about the general state of their health; a line of conduct followed also with regard to diseases generally. So *e. g.* it is a mark of bad breeding to use in correspondence the words disease or spectres of disease; for these should always be substituted "babies producing vicissitudes (in life)" [4].

As well as febrile delirium, insanity is naturally ascribed by the Chinese to evil spirits. The famous classic of the healing art

---

[1] 上元令陳齊東少時與張某寓太平府關帝廟中、張病瘧。陳與同房、因午倦對臥床上、見戶外一童子、面白皙衣、帽鞋襪皆深青色。探頭視張、陳初意爲廟中人、不之問、俄而張瘧作、童子去、張瘧亦止。又一日寢、忽聞張狂叫、痰如湧泉。陳驚寤、見童子立張榻前、舞手蹈足歡笑、顧盼若甚得意者。陳知爲瘧鬼。直前撲之、着手冷不可耐。童走出、颯颯有聲、追至中庭而沒。張疾愈、而陳手有黑氣如烟熏色、數日始除. *Tsze puh yū*, ch. 7.

[2] 寒熱. [3] 乞食阿病. [4] 造化小兒.

classifies its causes under five heads: "The following are the five "derangements caused by sié: — when they enter the yang "of an individual, he turns mad; when they enter his yin, he "becomes paralyzed. Should they seize firm hold of his yang, he "will have epileptic fits, and if they hold fast his yin, he becomes "dumb. If yang sié enter his yin, he becomes quiet, and "when yin sié leave his yang, he turns furious. These are the "so-called five derangements" [1].

The sié in destroying a patient's reason may lead him through a series of ailments. A medical work by Chang Ki [2], a high officer who flourished in the second and the third century, states: "When "sié disturb by their howling the tranquility of a man's hwun or "pʿoh, his blood and breath decrease; this decrease imparts itself "to his heart, and whereas his heart-breath thus becomes void, "the patient becomes timorous. Then, when he shuts his eyes to "sleep, he dreams that he roams far away, for his vital spirits "are dispersing, his hwun and his pʿoh wander about erratically, "the deterioration of his yin makes him epileptic, and the decline "of his yang deranges his reason" [3].

Harping throughout on this string, medical authors declare, that if a madman under demoniacal influence sees and tells of strange, unknown things and spectres and ghosts, having lost even the slightest control of his eyes, his tongue, ears and gestures, this is a proof that the "vacuity of his breath and blood" [4] is at its very highest pitch, and that his shen lacks lucidity. It is not, however, always quite certain that superabundant secretion of mucus, com-

---

1 五邪所亂、邪入於陽則狂、邪入於陰則痺。搏陽則爲巔疾、搏陰則爲痓。陽入之陰則靜、陰出之陽則怒。是謂五亂. *Hwang-ti su wen*, ch. 23.

2 張機.

3 邪哭使魂魄不安者血氣少也、血氣少者屬於心、心氣虛者其人則畏。合目欲眠夢遠行、而精神離散、魂魄妄行、陰氣衰者爲癎、陽氣衰者爲狂. *Kin kwei yao lioh* 金匱要略, a voluminous medical work in 24 chapters, held in the highest esteem by practitioners of the healing art to this day. T'S, sect. 藝術, ch. 315.

4 氣血之虛.

bined with insane restlessness, is proof that spectres or sié are at work in him; such things are often to be explained by catarrh, infection, etc. If a woman dreams of spectres having sexual commerce with her, or if she utters insane talk after a confinement or during excessive menstruation, it may be vacuity of her blood, consequent on the effluence of her shen, that causes it. Medical men are also almost unanimous on the point that lunacy and frenzy is a consequence of sié possessing the heart of the patient, which is the central seat of his soul.

These ideas of medical sages in regard to derangement of intellect tally with those of the common people. In Amoy these say that madmen all alike are under the influence of *siáo kúi* [1], "demons of insanity". Should a man suffer from raving fits in the genial days of early spring, he is in the power of "peach-blossom devils", *t'ó-hoe kúi* [2], so called from the peach-trees just then in their vernal garb; hence a man may be maddened by striking him with a peach-twig. It is especially for the tenacity with which they keep hold of their victims, that the *siáo kúi* are dreaded. Against them the most powerful exorcisms ever invented by human genius prove inefficacious, and if such a spectre has maddened a man, nothing remains for the family but to wait with resignation till it is pleased to depart.

The fact that insanity is thus positively and generally ascribed to malevolent ghosts,fully explains why hallucinations of delirious patients, presenting to them imaginary beings and beasts, are taken by the healthy for nothing less than real apparitions of spectres. And it is striking to note how frequently medical works, in enumerating symptoms of maladies, mention "insane, random talk" [3] in immediate connexion with the "seeing of spectres" [4]; indeed, as the Chinese, while hale and hearty, always have spectres before their minds, it is no wonder that this is the case also when they are ill and delirious. Closely akin to the demons of insanity, but not so malicious, not so tenacious, are those causing transient or constant abstraction or vacancy of mind, which the Amoy Chinese know as *bé hún kúi* [5], "spectres bewildering or confusing the hwun"; they call them also *mo̍ sín á kúi* [6], "spectres causing absence of the shen". Their operation consists in removing the hwun or the

---

1 ? 鬼. 2 桃花鬼. 3 妄語.
4 見鬼. 5 迷魂鬼. 6 無神阿鬼.

shen, which constitutes the intellect, or a part of it, out of men, thus causing profound listlessness and absence of mind. Placid distraction, temporary mental aberration, madness without violence or frenzy, are ascribed to these spectres, and so are idiotcy and imbecility, in short, harmless alienation of any kind.

The people assert, that it often occurs in the dead of night that a person, leaving his house to go to a public privy in the street, is bereft of his soul by some spectre. Drowsy, silly, he wanders about between the malodorous pits, unable to find his way out of the labyrinth of partition-walls. Should then another come with a torch or lantern, the soul in most cases forthwith re-settles in the noct-ambulist, the spectre that holds it in its grasp being, like all spectres, afraid of light, and having to run for its life at the sight of it. This photophobia of the devil race explains why, as the people assert, such privy accidents never occur in the daytime. But there is more, and worse: — many a man or woman is known to have wandered from home for no obvious reason whatever, to be found after many days in the hills, bewildered and starved. Consciousness is restored to such victims by calling out their names so loud and long that the absent soul, hearing and obeying this summons, returns to the body. That Koh Hung wrote of spirits of this kind we have already seen on page 502.

Young children, being tender and weak, and their organism devoid of power of resistance, are exposed to demonish influence much more than grown-up people. Every sudden fright, producing wailing and obstinate crying fits, is believed to be the work of sié. "Fits of wailing caused by fright", states a book, "are sié "influences settled upon the heart, and should be cured with "soul-calming pills" [1]. Convulsions and spasms brilliantly prove the correctness of these theories; let us summarise what authors have to tell about these complaints. They manifest themselves in consequence of terror affecting the heart and the kidneys, and then

[1] 驚啼者邪氣乘心也、當以安神丸主之. *Siao 'rh yoh ching chih kueh* 小兒藥證直訣, the Correct Art of Medication in Infantile Disease, perhaps the oldest surviving special work on diseases of children, all those mentioned in older catalogues being lost. Its author Ts'ien Yih 錢乙, styled Chung-yang 仲陽, was a court physician in the second half of the eleventh century. See T S, sect. 藝術, ch. 427.

harm the soul. They may have several causes. The principal and worst among these is k o h w u [1] or "collision with strange or extraneous influence", a matter discussed already in the medical book ascribed to Koh Hung. This authority for all time stated, "that "k o h w u belongs to the class of strokes of evil, and causes cramps "in the heart and a swollen abdomen, with shocks at the heart and "in the breast. W u means a collision, that is to say, a collision "with extraneous influence" [2]. This influence may be emitted also by men, and therefore convulsions are medically distinguished as c h u n g k w e i-w u [3] and c h u n g j e n-w u [4]: "collisions with spectres, or with men"; nay, many clever authors divide them into several sorts, according to the kind of man or woman who affrighted the child, or even according to the kind of animal that did it, and in connexion therewith they prescribe various medicines. The k o h w u counteract the normal or c h i n g influences which constitute the health of the child; they are s i é transmitted unwittingly by men approaching the child, or by beasts or winds; a child may at any time catch such infection, even at the moment of its birth, also from women unclean by menstruation. On account of the resemblance which convulsions bear to catalepsy, as well in cause as in aspect and in consequences, they, like this disease, are often styled "strokes of spectres or evil". As in other demoniacal maladies, the ingress of spectres and their s i é is rendered possible or facilitated by antecedent irregularities of the health or indispositions of the organs, to particularize which would lead us too far.

Spectres attacking babies take a particular delight in seizing their souls. "The influence of the s h e n of a baby is tender and weak, "the soundness of its vital spirits delicate and feeble; hence when "its s h e n or h w u n is seized by a demon, this fact shows itself in "its being unexpectedly smitten with unusually severe disease: it "directly becomes paralyzed and yellow; it cries often and loud, "and its breath all that time has a foul smell" [5]. We have noticed

---

[1] 客忤.

[2] 客忤者中惡之類也、令人心腹絞痛脹滿、衝心胸。忤者犯也、謂客氣犯也. *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 3.

[3] 中鬼忤. [4] 中人忤.

[5] 小兒神氣軟弱、精爽微羸、而神魂被鬼所持、其狀不覺有餘疾、直爾痿黃、多大啼喚、口氣常

already on page 243 of Book I, that in Amoy people try to cure such sufferers of convulsions by re-calling their souls by the sound of a gong, and bring it back into the patient by means of a garment.

A special class of baby-haunting demons is the ki [1], fruits of superstitious fancy haunting China from early times. The *Shwoh wen* says: "Ki means the dress of a spectre; it is also said to signify a baby-"devil. The character is composed of spectre and the phonetic ki" [2]. It seems not improbable that these baby-demons were allied or identical with the ancient infant-frightening spectres, children of Chwen-süh, dwelling in ruinous buildings, which we mentioned on page 499.

The first author who gives us some information concerning the ki and their doings, is Sun Sze-moh. "As a rule", he writes, "a baby "will get the ki disease if, when its mother becomes pregnant anew, a "bad spirit incites this fetus in her womb to make that baby ill out "of jealousy. Ki spectres therefore are tiny sprites. The complaint "shows itself occasionally also when a pregnant woman has not called "the ki away to the last. When this spirit produces disease, it "preferably causes slight diarrhoea and fever, sometimes appearing "as a hairy, hideous, disagreeable being with long eyebrows; such are "the symptoms. Patients should take broth of dragon's gall. When a "woman, who has a child that cannot yet walk, becomes pregnant "again, and still suckles that child, the fetus also will become a ki "giving it a yellow colour; the symptoms then are emaciation, protru-"sion of the bones through the skin, loss of hair, and excessive heat" [3].

---

臭是也. *Ching chi chun shing* 證治準繩, Reliable Clue for Diagnoses and Cures, in 120 chapters, written in the first half of the sixteenth century by Wang Kheng-t'ang 王肯堂.

1 魆.

2 魆鬼服也、一曰小兒鬼。从鬼支聲. Ch. 9, I.

3 凡小兒所以有魆病者是婦人懷娠有惡神導其腹中胎妒嫉他小兒令病也。魆者小鬼也。妊娠婦人不必悉招魆亦時有此耳。魆之爲疾喜微微下痢寒熱、或去來毫毛黃髮猜獰不悅、是其證也。宜服龍膽湯。凡婦人先有小兒未能行而母更有娠、使兒飲此乳、亦作魆也、令兒黃、瘦骨立髮落壯熱是其證也. *Pi kih ts'ien kin yao fang*: T.S. sect. 藝術, ch. 472.

Later authors ascribe yet other complaints of babies to the ki, prescribing sundry efficacious medicines; but it is of no use to particularize all this. Unanimously they admonish pregnant mothers to wean their sucklings as soon as they observe in them a decline of health, an advice probably seldom followed in a country where women may be seen very often with boys and girls of four and five at their breasts. It needs no saying, that medical works emphatically dissuade parents from having their babies suckled by nurses in the family way. Generally they taboo milk of pregnant women as poisonous. "Such milk", says Li Shi-chen, "I call for-"bidden milk; if a baby sucks of it, it vomits and gets diarrhoea, "atrophy, and the ki disease, for it is so extremely poisonous" [1].

Thus, according to Sun Szĕ-moh and others, a ki is the soul of a fetus which harms its older brothers and sisters; but some authors declare, that the ki-disease is so called from the emaciation of the child who is attacked, causing it to look lean and weak like a ki. In Amoy the spectres are quite well known by the people, and it is not improbable that in the expression *ki-ki háo*, which, as we said on page 493, is in vogue there to denote mysterious chirping sounds in houses and corners, *ki-ki* means these baby-devils. Foreigners are often mockingly called there *á-ki*.

Since China's pathology, like her science generally, consists merely in distilling, by pure reasoning, verisimilar conclusions from superficial and inaccurate observation of facts, it is by no means able to sharply distinguish trance, catalepsy, and other forms of insensibility from death. Indeed, in either case the body is motionless, mute, and retains any given position; mental faculties are gone, as is all voluntarily movement, and from either state revival is possible. No wonder then that we find in the medical works of China sundry hints how to cure the dead, that is to say, how to restore them to life, and that authors make the freest use of the word death (死) where only transient death is meant. No wonder also that we find death as well as other states of insensibility represented as the work of evil spirits striking their victims with their baleful influence, or snatching their souls out of them.

To show how explicit these popular notions are, the following

---

[1] 有孕之乳謂之忌妳、小兒飲之吐瀉成疳鬾之病、最爲有毒也. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 52, l. 22.

tale may serve: "In the last year of the Shing p'ing period of "the Tsin dynasty (A.D. 361) an old man in the district of Ku- "chang had a daughter, with whom he lived far away in the hills. "One Chao Kwang of Yü-hang asked her in marriage, but he was "refused. On this the old man sickened and died. The maid went "to the district-city to buy a coffin, and fell in on the road with "Kwang, to whom she told what had happened. 'I am', she added, "'so busy now; if you go to my house and guard my father's "body till I return, I will become your house-wife'. This proposal "was accepted. 'In our sty', the girl went on to say, 'you will "find a pig; kill it, that we may prepare a (sacrificial) meal of it'.

"On reaching the girl's house, a noise reached Kwang's ears of a "clapping of hands accompanied by laughter and dancing. He lifted "up the mat suspended before the doorway, and beheld a crowd of "spectres in the main apartment tossing the corpse about. At this "sight he seized a stick, and with loud screams burst into the room, "whereupon all the spectres without exception decamped. Kwang "watched the corpse, fetched the pig, and slaughtered it.

"At nightfall he saw an old demon beside the corpse. It held "out its hand, begging for some of the flesh, but Kwang grasped "it with so much force that its owner could not get away. Firmly "keeping hold of it, he heard the spectres outside the door cry of "one voice: 'that old slave, that glutton, has put his foot in it, hurrah!' "'Old devil!' Kwang exclaimed, 'for certain, it is you that murdered "this old sire; bring back his vital spirits immediately, and I will let "you go, else never!' 'It was my children that amused themselves "with killing him', the old demon cried, and it told the young "spectres to bring back the soul. The old man now revived; the "old spectre was allowed to go, and when the girl came home "with the coffin and saw her father, she stood aghast and burst "into wailing. Kwang married her"[1].

---

[1] 晉升平末故章縣老公有一女、居深山。餘杭趙廣求爲婦、不許。公後病死。女上縣買棺、行半道逢廣、女具道情事。女因曰窮逼、君若能往家守父屍、須吾還者、便爲君妻。廣許之。女曰、我欄中有猪、可爲殺以飴作兒。

廣至女家但聞室中有撫掌欣舞之聲。廣披籬、見衆鬼在堂共捧弄公尸。廣把杖、大呼入門、羣

Spectres are also readily believed to kill their victims sometimes by creeping into their food, and thereby making their way into their bellies. "The Yü-chang people", thus relates the *Ki shen luh*, "are "fond of mushrooms, but above all they esteem the 'yellow dame' "mushroom for its fine flavour. A certain man, while repairing his "dwelling, cooked such mushrooms for the workmen. One of these, "while on the roof of the kitchen to lay the tiles, looked down "and saw nobody, but around the caldron with its boiling contents "covered with a dish a tiny, naked spectre ran and suddenly jumped "into it. The house-owner served up the mushrooms, and the said "workman was the only one who abstained from eating them, "without telling why; and that same evening all who had eaten "of the mushrooms were dead" [1].

The belief in disease-causing demons being engrafted firmly in the popular mind for all time, few things were better suited to uphold and confirm it than nightmare. Indeed, a sleeper labouring under this sensation seems crushed down under the weight of a demon riding on his chest; his panting is due to the demon's suffocating grasp; the sudden movements which interrupt his sleep are desperate attempts to throw the demon off. Quite appropriately, in fact, nightmare is written 魘, composed of a spectre and a com-

---

鬼盡走。黃守尸、取猪殺。

至夜見尸邊有老鬼。伸手乞肉、廣因捉其臂、鬼不得去。持之愈堅、但聞戶外有諸鬼共呼云、老奴貪食至此甚快。廣語、老鬼、殺公者必是汝、可速還精神、我當放汝、汝若不還終不置也。老鬼曰、我兒弄殺公耳、卽喚鬼子可還之。公漸活、因放老鬼、女載棺至、相見驚悲。因娶女爲婦. *Yiu ming luh*; TS, sect. 人事, ch. 96.

[1] 豫章人好食蕈、有黃姑蕈者尤爲美味。有民家治舍、烹此蕈以食工人。工人有登廚屋施瓦者、下視無人、惟釜中煮物以盆覆之俄有一小鬼裸身繞釜而走、倏忽投於釜中。頃之主人設蕈、工人獨不食、亦不言其故、旣暮其食蕈者皆卒. TS, sect. 草木, ch. 52.

ponent meaning pressure. This character does not occur in the Classics, but this is no proof that the idea that nightmare is caused by spectres did not prevail in ancient times. We have said on page 650 that such spectres may be spiders. And, as if to bring out still more clearly that the authors of nightmare are spectres, medical writers very regularly call it "demoniacal nightmare" [1]. They assure us, that those spectres are apt to totally suffocate a man: an easy way to account for sudden cases of death in bed by apoplexy or other causes. These cases are, they say, "abrupt nightmare" [2], or "demonish nightmare without awaking" [3], or "a violent end in sleep by nightmare" [4], not actually distinguished from strokes of devils or evil, and also caused by spectres who tear the soul out of the patient. In the work of Koh Hung we read: "In case "of nightmare, when the patient does not awake from his sleep, "his h w u n and p'o h wander about outside his body, being seized "by s i é or inscribed in the lists (of the dead); these souls wish to "return, but as long as they are unable to do so, they shun light, "for if light shines they cannot re-enter the body" [5].

It is then quite natural that Koh Hung advises that such patients should be brought round by calling back their souls. This remedial method should, according to him, be connected with a certain amount of hocus: "Tie the patient's feet with hemp, ask him why "he is in that condition, and promise him that orders shall be "given to untie him; then let a man sit down to watch his head, "and another call out his surname and name within the house, "and the sitting man answer: 'yes, I am here'; then revival will "follow [6]. If a sleeping person does not awake, no light may be allowed "to shine on him, for this may kill him; but if painful bites be "inflicted on his heels and his big toes at the roots of the nails, and

---

[1] 鬼魘. [2] 卒魘.

[3] 鬼魘不寤. [4] 魘寐暴絕.

[5] 魘臥寐不寤者皆魂魄外遊、爲邪所執錄、欲還未得、所忌火照、火照遂不復入. *Chou hou pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 5.

[6] 以麻縛脚、乃詰問其故、約勑解之、令一人坐頭守、一人於戶內呼病人姓名、坐人應曰、諾在、便蘇. *Op. et loc. cit.*

"his face be repeatedly spat upon, he will revive [1]. Blow breath "(*i. e.* s h e n) into the ears of the patient with a hollow reed, and "introduce into his nose twenty-seven hairs of his own, made up "as a thread" [2].

Other authors write in other terms, but in the same sense. "Five "causes by which life is cut short are: hanging, falling dead, night-"mare, drowning, and smothering. In such mortal casualities the "five viscera are not yet dead, because they are deaths by violence "caused by some external disaster; the h w u n and p'o h still keep "watch beside the corpse, and thus, being not far away, they may, "if called back in accordance with animistic magic, re-settle in or on "the body and make it revive" [3]. — "If a person harassed by night-"mare in his sleep does not awake, his h w u n and p'o h wander "about outside his body and are held fast by s i é; you ought then "call him in the dark, and beware of letting light shine on him, "else his s h e n or h w u n will not enter into him, and he will "expire under the light itself. Nightmare spectres come forth from "light, and therefore are not shy of light. The patient must not "be called to near by or impatiently, for such things too might "cause the loss of his s h e n and h w u n" [4].

Lumbago, gout, and kindred rheumatic affections are ascribed in

---

[1] 臥忽不寤勿以火照、火照之殺人、但痛嚙其踵及足拇指甲際而多唾其面卽活. *Op. et loc. cit.*

[2] 以蘆管吹兩耳、并取病人髮二七莖作繩納鼻孔中. *Op. et loc. cit.*

[3] 五絕乃縊死、跌死、魘死、淹死、壓死是也。然此等之死五臟未絕、因外來之禍而枉死者也、其魂魄守於屍旁、相去未遠、苟以神術招之、魂魄卽附體而可生也. *Ku kin i t'ung* 古今醫統, Compendium of ancient and modern Medicine, by Sü Ch'un-fu 徐春甫 *al.* Jü-yuen 汝元, of the Ming dynasty. T S, sect. 藝術, ch. 349.

[4] 臥魘不寤是魂魄外遊、爲邪所執、宜暗喚、忌以火、照則神魂不入、乃至死於燈前。魘者本由明出、不忌火。不宜近喚及急喚、亦恐失神魂也. *Sheh sheng yao luh* 攝生要錄, Record of what is required to gather Vitality, a work quoted in the T S, sect. 人事, ch. 109.

Amoy to the grasps of certain devilish pigmies, denoted by bookmen by the character 彧 h w o h. These dangerous beings there busy themselves with arousing sudden gusts of wind and draughts of air whirling up the dust in narrow cross-streets and alleys; hence these phenomena are styled in the local tongue *kúi-á hong* [1], "devil-winds". Apart from causing the above ailments, the h w o h often amuse themselves by wrenching people's faces awry with so much force that the features can never again resume their former correct position. They stiffen limbs, and lame men for the whole of their lives — in short, they are the authors of all complaints comprised in the term "strokes of murderous influences (s h a h) of winds" [2]. The belief in the evil wrought by these spectres is in Amoy so deeply rooted and so general, that it is a very usual thing to hear people there vent their anger by this curse: *khit kúi-á hong p'ah tióh* [3], "may a demon-wind strike you".

The origin of these devils of rheumatic affections can be traced to China's early days, that is, if, relying on the great Khanghi Dictionary, we may admit that their written name 彧 is merely another form of 蜮 y u h, which, as its radical indicates, denotes an insect or an amphibious animal. In the ancient *Shi king* we find these y u h associated with spectres, as this Classic mentions them in juxtaposition with k w e i in this line: "Were you a k w e i or a y u h, you could not be got at" [4]. Liu Hiang, the philosopher of the first century before our era, "opined that the y u h occurred "in southern Yueh (Kwangtung), a country with a surplus of women "where the two sexes used to bathe in the same streams, the "women taking the precedence, wherefrom a spirit of lasciviousness "arose. Hence it was that the holy ancients styled those animals "蜮, on account of the affinity of this character with 惑, tempt-"ation; indeed, those animals could shoot at men from the river-"side, being cognate with shooting spectres in general; the com-"mandments of Heaven severely and justly forbid men to place them-"selves on a footing of equality with women, and therefore It created "these mischievous things which kill with their shots those who are "tempted to lasciviousness" [5].

---

[1] 鬼仔風. [2] 中風煞. [3] 乞鬼仔風撲着.

[4] 爲鬼爲蜮則不可得: sect. 小雅. 小旻 odes. 5.

[5] 劉向以爲蜮生南越、越地多婦人、男女同川浴、女爲主、亂氣所生。故聖人名之曰蜮、蜮猶

Later authors, not so much affected by holy indignation of the sinful *bains mixtes* of those southerners, give us some information about the yuh which is better than such flashes of fancy. The *Shwoh wen* says "it is a twan-hu" [1]. The written form of this term is translatable into "short bow", but probably is merely a phonetic transcription, for we also find it in the form 短狐, the translation of which gives "short fox" and is apparent nonsense. Nevertheless native authors may be right who maintain, that twan-hu is to be taken in the sense of a short bow, the beast being, as we shall see presently, described as shooting maliciously a poisonous breath, water or sand. This circumstance may have created the word; yet we feel just as much inclined to think that the word has created the belief in the shooting-capacities of the animal.

"It resembles a tortoise", the *Shwoh wen* goes on to say, "and "it possesses three legs; it squirts its breath at men, thus destroying "their lives" [2]. Chang Hwa, who lived from A.D. 232—300, wrote: "In the hills of Kiang-nan or the regions south of the Yang-tszĕ "there live in the becks certain archer-animals of the scaled class. "Their size is one or two ts'un. They have something in their "mouths which looks like a bow, and they squirt their breath at the "shadows of men; ulcers then break out in the places hit, which, "unless attended to properly, are mortal. Nowadays when a khü-"seu urinates upon a human shadow, the spots thus defiled like-"wise become ulcerous" [3]. These khü-seu, which we have already met on page 84, are in general described as small lizards, but need not occupy us for the present.

A contemporary of Chang Hwa, Luh Ki by name (A.D. 260—303), further said about the yuh: "On the banks of the Yangtszĕ and the "Hwai they occur everywhere. When the shadow of a man on the

---

惑也、在水旁能射人、近射妖也、天戒嚴公勿取齊女、將生淫惑篡弑之禍. *'Rh-ya yih*, art. 蜮.

1 蜮短弧也. Sect. 13, I, I. 58.

2 似鼈、三足、以气射害人.

3 江南山谿中水射工蟲、甲類也。長一二寸。口中有弩形、氣射人影、隨所著處發瘡、不治則殺人。今蠷螋虫溺人影亦隨所著處生瘡. *Poh wuh chi*, ch. 3, 異虫.

"bank appears in the water, the beast by throwing itself upon it "kills the man; it is on this account named the shadow-archer. "When a southerner has to go into the water, he previously flings "some sherds and stones into it to render it turbid. Some say, "that if the animal takes fine gravel in its mouth and squirts it at "men, it fixes in his flesh and produces ulcers like leprosy" [1].

The first author who represents the yuh to us with their present attribute of causes of paralysis, painful stiffness, and head-complaints is Yü Pao. "Under the reign of Kwang Wu of the Han dynasty "(A.D. 25—58) there lived in P'ing (in Sze-chw'en?) certain animals "in the river, named yuh or twan-hu, which could take sand "in their mouths and squirt it at men. Those hit felt the tendons "and nerves of their body stiffen; they got head-ache and burning "fever, and in the worst cases they died. The people on the "river who repressed them with magical arts, found sand and "gravel in their flesh. The meaning of the passage in the *Shi king*: "'were you a kwei or a yuh', escapes me. The people now call "them river-poison" [2].

Koh Hung also dilated on this beast in his own peculiar manner, apparently seasoning his remarks with inventions of his prolific brain. "In Wu and in Ch'u (Chehkiang, Kiangsu and Kiangsi) "there exist in the country so-called twan-hu, yuh, archers, or "shadow-shooters. In fact they are aquatic animals, shaped like the "chirping cicada, and as large as a cup holding three double "handfuls; they possess wings and can fly, and have no eyes, but "acute ears. In their jaws they have something jutting out cross-"wise, which is a bow with tips, and when the animal hears a man,

---

[1] 江淮水濱皆有之。人在岸上影見水中、投人影則殺之、故曰射影也。南方人將入水、先以瓦石投水中、令水濁、然後入。或曰、含細沙射人、入人肌、其創如疥. *Mao shi tsao muh niao shou ch'ung yü shu*, second part, 如鬼如蜮.

[2] 漢光武中平中有物處於江水、其名曰蜮、一曰短狐、能含沙射人。所中者則身體筋急、頭痛發熱、劇者至死。江人以術方抑之則得沙石於肉中。詩所謂爲鬼爲蜮則不可測也。今俗謂之溪毒. *Shou shen ki*, ch. 12.

"it puts a string into this instrument as between the tips of a bow, "and using its breath as an arrow, squirts it out of the water at "him. If it hits him, boils break out on the spot; if it hits his "shadow, disease also ensues, the ulcers not appearing, however, "immediately, but killing him all the same if they are not soon "attended to. The symptoms of this disease resemble those of a bad "catarrh; both complaints entail death within ten days" [1].

The reader will remember (see page 83), that the conception that a man may be harmed by harm being done to his shadow, is an old one, connected with certain ideas about the affinity of his shadow and his soul. After all, it seems tolerably clear that the yuh must be something like a water-beetle, crab, or amphibious creature, which our zoological science will not fail one day to define and strip of its fabulous garb.

The disastrous influence of demons is never so much felt and feared as in times of epidemics, when myriads of wen-yih kwei, "demons of epidemic or pestilence" [2], hover over the country, slaying victims by hundreds in every direction. A roaring trade is driven in charms, amulets, and demon-dispelling medicines; the people flock to the temples and have recourse to religious ceremonies and processions, of which we shall have much to say in Part IV of this Book, and still later on.

That the belief in such demons is an old one, is proved by the tradition we mentioned on page 499, according to which a son of Chwen-süh became a devil of pestilence. Medical works of all times are unanimous in declaring, that plagues are produced by certain categories of sié doing their work in connexion with the vicissitudes of the seasons, each of these having its peculiar prevailing maladies. Hence their name: "sié of the movement of heaven" [3].

---

[1] 今吳楚之野有短狐、一名蜮、一名射工、一名射影。其實水虫也、狀如鳴蜩、狀似三合盃、有翼能飛、無目而利耳。口中有橫物角弩、如聞人聲、緣口中物如角弩、以氣爲矢則因水而射人。中人身者卽發瘡、中影者亦病、而不卽發瘡、不曉治之者煞人。其病似大傷寒、不十日皆死. *Pao P'oh-tszĕ*, ch. 4, § 17, 登涉.

[2] 瘟疫鬼.

[3] 天行邪.

No doubt devils of epidemics have in all times lived in popular imagination in various parts of China under various local names, and occupied themselves with other malignant works besides spreading disease. A work of the sixth century is stated to have related, that "in the city of Hwang-cheu (in Hupeh?) h w a n g - f u "spectres existed, who worked evil whenever they appeared. Their "clothes and coats were all yellow. If they came to a human "dwelling, laughing with gaping mouths, pestilential disease was "sure to break out there. Their size was not invariable, but varied "with the height to which the mat hanging before the doorway "was drawn up. As they had not showed themselves for ten or "more years, the gentry and the people lived under constant "fears (that they were about to come). A man in Lü-ling, "Kwoh Khing-chi by name, had a female slave, born in his own "house; her name was Ts'ai-wei; she was young and beautiful. In "the H i a o k i e n period of the Sung dynasty (A. D. 454—457) "there appeared a man, calling himself a hill-spirit; he resembled "a human being, but was in the garb of nature, and over one "c h a n g tall; his arms and his breast were yellow, but his skin "and his face were perfectly fresh and clean; his speech was cor- "rect in every respect. The people took him for a h w a n g - f u "spectre. He came for sexual intercourse with the slave, who sub- "mitted to his will, as if he were a man. He then visited her "many times, always keeping his bodily shape concealed, but "from time to time it became visible, showing constantly varying "forms. Now and then he was tall, at other times small; some- "times he looked like smoke or vapour; on other occasions he was "as a stone, infant, or woman, or like a bird or quadruped; but "his footprints were as those of a man and two c h'i h in length, "except on some occasions, when they resembled those of a goose. "The palms of his hands were as large as a bowl. He opened the "doors and shut the windows, entering in a spirit-like manner, and "jested with the slave as a man would do" [1].

[1] 黃州治下有黃爻鬼、出則爲祟。所著衣袷皆黃。至人家張口而笑、必得疫癘。長短無定、隨簷高下。自不出已十餘年、土俗畏怖。廬陵人郭慶之有家生婢、名採薇、年少有色。宋孝建中忽有一人、自稱山蠻、如人、裸身、長丈餘、臂胸皆有黃色、膚貌端潔、言音周正。土俗呼爲黃爻鬼。

Those h w a n g - f u demons are believed to have played their part as spirits of pestilence as early as the period of the Han dynasty, for the commentary upon the official history of the later part of that house, written under the T'ang dynasty, narrates how Yoh Pa [1], Governor of Yü-chang in the first half of the second century of our era, renowned for his great capacities as an exorcist, "found that province in constant distress on account of evil brought "upon the people by h w a n g - f u spectres; but on his arrival these "beings all disappeared, and from that time no more cases of pesti- "lence occurred in that province" [2]. Devils are also engenderers of cattle-plagues. "In the sixth year of the S h a o h i n g period (A.D. "1136), while the Chang family in the village of Yü-kan were "asleep, their cowboy in the stable heard somebody knock on the "door. He rose instantly, and saw several hundred robust men, "all clad in armour adorned with five flowers and with red hel- "mets on, rush into the stable and vanish there. At daybreak all "the cows, fifty head strong, lay dead. Those men were plague- "demons" [3].

The doctrine that the Universe is composed of five Elements the influences of which work in all the phenomena of Nature, necessarily leads to the inference that those Elements influence also the

---

來通此婢、婢委意事如人。鬼遂數來、常隱其身、時或露形、形變無常。乍大乍小、或似煙氣、或爲石、或作小兒、或爲婦人、或如鳥如獸、足跡如人、長二尺許、或似鵝跡。掌大如盤。開戶閉牖、其入如神、與婢戲笑如人. KK, ch. 325; professedly from the *Shuh i ki*, in which, however, I cannot find it.

[1] 樂巴.

[2] 郡中常患黃父鬼爲百姓害、巴到皆不知所在、郡內無復疾疫也. The Khienlung edition of the Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 87, l. 3.

[3] 紹興六年餘干村民張氏家已寢、牧童在牛圈聞有扣門者。急起視之、見壯夫數百輩、皆披五花甲、著紅兜鍪、突而入、既而隱不見。及明圈中牛五十頭盡死。蓋疫鬼云. *I wen tsung luh*; T S, sect. 庶徵, ch. 173.

several diseases which harass man. Accordingly the spectres which cause illness are of five different classes corresponding to the Elements. We read as follows in a standard work of divination: "When kwei of Metal arise and flourish, the teeth and the "head are affected, and when they co-operate with the White "Tiger[1], blood and pus flow. When spectres of the element Wood "set to work, complaints caused by Wind (rheumatism, etc.) arise, "and head-aches and dimness of the eyes pass away after a time. "Water-spectres cause alternatingly cold and heat, generally pro- "ducing fever in this way; diarrhoea and catarrh then are difficult "to cure. Spectres of Fire cause consumption combined with lan- "guor; which produces pains in the eyes. And the demons of Earth "cause voidness of the spleen and the stomach, as also yellow "ulcers; when they are at work in the body, they are bound to "produce disease in the thorax"[2].

Of these five classes three play a pre-eminent part in Demonlore, and have been treated by us in special chapters, viz those of Wood, including those which dwell in trees, plants, and wooden objects; those of Water, and those of Earth or the ground. The latter in particular are believed to create much disease, none being liable to so much collision with man, not only the soil he walks on, but even his house and every object he handles being under their direct influence, or inhabited by them.

Fire-devils are the will-o'the-wisps, which, as the reader has seen on page 80, were declared by the ancients to be in the main products of bloodshed. In the writings of Lieh-tszĕ too it is proclaimed that "blood of horses becomes whirling *ignes fatui*, in the same way as that of men becomes field-lights"[3]. Those lights never figure in China as good spirits. They are stigmatized as extremely bad, intent on bringing sickness on people and making serious

---

1 Metal and the White Tiger are correlative, as both belong to the West; see Book I, page 988.

2 金鬼興隆、牙與頭、更兼白虎、血膿流。木鬼動時、風疾症、頭眩眼暗幾時休。水鬼寒熱、多因瘧、痢疾傷風未易瘳。火鬼虛勞兼弱症、眼目疼痛有來由。土鬼脾胃虛黃腫、間動須當膈病愁. *Puh-shi ts'uen shu* 卜筮全書 or Complete Books on Divination, in fourteen chapters, by Chao Tsi-lung 趙際隆 of the Ming dynasty; ch. XIV.

3 馬血之爲轉鄰也人血之爲野火也. Ch. 1.

havoc in corn-fields. "When, after the ears of corn have sprouted, "spectral lights flit about in the dark and singe it, it is a sixth "catastrophe. Those lights are emitted from the interior of de- "caying wood, so that wood is their mother, and the lights "are her children. As long as children are within their mother's "womb, her body does not decay, for it is the nature of chil- "dren not to destroy their mother even should they abide in her "for a thousand autumns; but whenever the year is rainy, so "that in the graves in the lonely plains — sapped and ruined by "foxes as so often they are — the coffins are soaked and in an "extremely rotten condition, then their wood, which I have called "mother-matter, decays, and the lights having no longer anything "to adhere to, detach from it and fly about. Being lights pro- "duced by Yin, they endure no yang light, and await the "twilight after sunset to burst forth from their crevices; lacking "force to rise into the air, they move about irregularly over "distances of a few feet only; and when ears and blades of the "corn come in contact with them, these are cut off immediately, "singed or burned. Men who chase away those lights, whenever "they see roots of trees emit them, fall upon them as upon spectres, "with a hail of blows. I do not know whence the statement comes "that there are spectres produced by decayed wood. When spectre- "lights see lamp-light, they vanish of themselves" [1].

Unbiassed minds may recognize in those harvest-destroying luminous devils, born from rotting vegetable and animal matter, a species of fire-fly, voracious, or placing its destructive eggs and larvae in

---

[1] 凡苗吐穗之後暮夜鬼火遊燒、此六災也。此火乃朽木腹中放出、凡木母火子。子藏母腹母身未壞、子性千秋不滅、每逢多雨之年、孤野墳墓多被狐狸穿塌、其中棺板爲水浸朽爛之極、所謂母質壞也、火子無附脫母飛揚。然陰火不見陽光、直待日沒黃昏此火衝隙而出、其力不能上騰、飄遊不定數尺而止、凡禾穗葉遇之、立刻焦炎。逐火之人見他處樹根放火、以爲鬼也、奮挺擊之。反有鬼變枯柴之說不知何來。鬼火見燈光而已化矣. TS, sect. 草木, ch. 26; from the *T'ien kung khai wuh* 天工開物.

cornfields. We read as early as in the *Li ki* (ch. 23, l. 3), that "decaying herbs become fire-flies in the last month of summer" [1]. Sundry authors explicitly call those insects 燐, which is, as we saw on page 81, the usual old name for will-o'the-wisps; so, *e. g.* did Ts'ui Pao in his *Ku kin chu*, in a paragraph treating of fishes and insects; we may then ask whether the fact that that character contains the elements 火 fire, 米 rice, and 舛 untoward, is merely accidental. In some tales we find fire-flies, just like will-o'the-wisps, described as products of human blood. "Under the "emperor Hwai of the Tsin dynasty it occurred in the Yung kia "period (A. D. 307—313) that one Ting Tu, a Ts'iao-kwoh man, "crossed the Yangtsze, and reaching the frontier of Yin-ling when "it was dark and foggy, saw a being like a man, northward from "his path. This creature fell down, and then as it reared itself up "blood flowed out of both its eyes, from its head to the ground, "where it formed two pools of more than one pint each. Tu and "his cousin cried out at that apparation with one voice, with the "result that it faded away. And on the spot where it had stood "the blood changed entirely into several thousands of fire-flies, flying "away in all directions" [2].

Fire-flies appear in China in the hottest times of the year. In Fuhkien they swarm especially in the seventh month, when the whole population is busily engaged in feeding the souls of the dead, temporarily released for the purpose from hell by Buddhist sacerdotal art. This coincidence tends, of course, to corroborate every year the popular belief that those insects are human ghosts. Fortunately, as the Amoy Chinese say, they generally keep aloof from human habitations, and seldom enter. "The lasses roving about at "night", an author writes, "are lights of fire-flies. They are the "vital spirits (tsing) of corpses lying on the ground. Burning "incense turns them away. They bring happiness if they enter a

---

[1] 季夏之月腐草爲螢. Sect. 月令, IV. See also a like statement in the *Kih chung Chou shu*, ch. 6, § 52.

[2] 晉懷帝永嘉中譙國丁杜渡江、至陰陵界時天昏霧、在道北見一物如人。倒立、兩眼垂血從頭下聚地、兩處各有升餘。杜與從弟齊聲喝之、滅而不見。立處聚血皆化爲螢火數千枝、縱橫飛去. *Chi kwai luh*; TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 171.

"human dwelling blue coloured, but calamity if they are then red"[1].

For the rest, tales connecting evil spirits with wandering lights and fires are numerous. To give two instances:

"In the Hwui-ki department there appeared regularly a tall "demon of many chang, with loins several dozen spans in circum-"ference. A high cap it wore, and black clothes. Sié Tao-hin, coming "to a pond across a graveyard, saw in the evening shades at "that pond a pair of torches. Forthwith they entered the water, "where they spread over a surface of several dozen chang, with "a bright silkwhite colour which faded gradually into a bloodred "hue, and broke up finally into several hundred torches that "pursued his vehicle. And in the midst of those lights he perceived "distinctly the huge ghost, with a head as big as a basket for "five stones of rice. This being behaved as if dead drunk, and "was supported on either side by tiny spectres. In that same year "the rebellion of Sun Ngen broke out (towards the end of the "fourth century), which nobody in Hwui-ki neglected to join and "succour; and it was opined at that time that Tao-hin's vision "was the forboding of it"[2].

— "Li Cheu was on officer in Hü-cheu, whose farm stood in "Fu-keu. In the spring of the second year of the Yung t'ai "period (A. D. 499) he went home for the celebration of the "Ts'ing ming festival, and, when about to reach the Poh-liang "river came by a spot which formerly was a shrubless grave, "twenty paces from the roadside, where the herdboys were wont

---

[1] 夜遊女子螢火也。此伏尸之精。燒香辟之。若入人家、其色青者吉、紅者有禍殃. T S, *cap. cit.*; from the *Ts'ing siang tsah ki* 青箱雜記, Miscellanies from the Blue Box, a work in ten chapters by Wu Ch'u-heu 吳處厚, al. Poh-ku 伯固, who attained the highest literary degree in 1053.

[2] 會稽郡常有大鬼、長數丈、腰大數十圍。高冠玄服。謝道欣至離塘行墓地往、向夜見離塘有雙炬。須臾火忽入水中、仍舒長數十丈、色白如練、稍稍漸還赤、散成數百炬、追逐車從而行。悉見火中有鬼甚長大、頭如五石籮。其狀如大醉者、左右小鬼共扶之。是年孫恩作亂、會稽大小莫不冀戴、時以爲欣之所見亂之徵也. *Chi kwai luh*, K K, ch. 323.

"to play and gambol; but this evening he saw there a grotto as "large as a dish, with a glare of light in it. This aroused his curiosity; "he alighted, went to the grave, and saw five lasses in beautiful "dress, seated in the order of the five cardinal points, stitching and "sewing with untiring zeal, stooping over candle-lights. Cheu made "some noise, on which the five lights all went out, and the five "maids vanished out of sight. Uneasy feelings sent him back to "his saddle; he galopped off, but still ere he was on the road, five "torches rushed forth from the grave and gave chase to him. He "fled at his courser's ful'est speed, unable, however, to outrun his "pursuers. He brandished his whip, but it was singed by the "lights, which did not vanish until he had covered some ten miles "which separated him from the Poh-liang river, where he came "upon dogs. At daybreak he perceived that the tail of his horse "was burned off, and that its rump and its legs were singed. "Thenceforth the grave was called that of the five lasses. It still "exists to this day" [1].

Spectres associated with the element Metal we have seldom found specially mentioned. But since the four other elements have their spirits, regularity requires that Metal should follow suit; moreover, all who have heard the tinkling of the bells of scholastic philosophy, must needs believe in the existence of spectres of *all* the elements, since these correspond with the four cardinal points

---

[1] 李晝爲許州吏、莊在扶溝。永泰二年春因清明歸、欲至伯梁河、先是路旁有塚、去路約二十步、其上無草、牧童所戲、其夜李晝忽見塚上有穴、大如盤、兼有火光。晝異之、下馬躋塚焉、見五女子衣華服、依五方坐而紉針、俱低頭就燭、矻矻不歇。晝叱之一聲、五燭皆滅、五女亦失所在。晝恐上馬而走、未上大路、五炬火從塚出逐晝。晝走不能脫。以鞭揮拂、爲火所爇、近行十里方達伯梁河、有犬至方滅。明日看馬尾被燒盡、及股脛亦燒損。自後遂曰此爲五女塚。今存焉. *Poh i chi* 博異志, Ample Record of strange Things, ten tales about spirits, ascribed to one Ching Hwan-ku 鄭還古, who lived under the T'ang dynasty. The above tale is not in my copy; I quote it from the K K, ch. 337.

and the centre, all equally crowded with spectres. In medical works we have come across the doctrine that the devils of Metal preferably affect the lungs, which (see the Table on page 26) philosophy connects with that element. It is hardly necessary to add, that evil spirits dwelling in objects of metal are naturally ranked in this class. A higher conception associates the devils of Metal with the planet Venus, called by the Chinese the star of Metal [1], a murderous, disease-producing celestial power representing the autumn, the season of mortality and decay of Nature. In this capacity it comes to the foreground almost exclusively in astrological divination, and hence we shall find it again in our Book on Taoism.

[1] 金星.

## CHAPTER IX.

### ON SUICIDE-SPECTRES.

The ghost of every drowned person and of every victim of a tiger, as we have seen on page 525 and page 554, does not rest until it has caused a person to lose his life in the same way as he lost his. Such also is the behaviour of self-murderers; they are always in search of so-called "substitutes": t'i or kao-t'i [1], tai or kao-tai [2]. Hence in a house where some one has killed himself, suicides are likely to occur at shorter or longer intervals, and this conviction prevails so strongly that houses infected with this evil are difficult to let, and even stigmatized as totally uninhabitable.

It is not by the shen of the self-murderer that the substitute is sought, for, soaring on high, to blend with the supreme Yang from which it sprang, it is not its nature to do harm; but it is sought by his p'oh or kwei, returning to the earth on the very spot where the suicide was perpetrated. We learn this from Li Shi-chen, who says: "The p'oh of a man is something lying under a "hanged person and resembling carbonized wheat-bran; if dug away "immediately, it may be destroyed, but if this precaution is delayed, "it sinks deep into the ground, and unless eradicated, a repetition "of the incident is sure to occur. Indeed, man is gifted with a "yang breath and a yin breath, which constitute his body, his "hwun and his p'oh; as long as these breaths dwell in him "conjointly, he lives, but when they separate he dies, his hwun "then rising to heaven, and his p'oh descending into the earth. "As this p'oh belongs to the Yin, the tsing of it is absorbed by "the earth, wherein it changes into the above-mentioned substance" [3].

---

[1] 替 or 交替. [2] 代 or 交代.

[3] 人魄、此是縊死人其下有物如麩炭、卽時掘取便得消、遲則深入矣、不掘則必有再縊之禍。蓋人受陰陽二氣、合成形體魂魄、聚則生、散則

Self-destruction is perpetrated in China mostly by means of the rope; hence suicidal spectres are denoted in Amoy by the term *tiào kúi* [1], "hanging-spectres". Every one in that town, from the most learned man down to coolies and beggars, firmly believes in their existence, and numerous tales are in circulation to prove that they are fully entitled to do so. Two of these may be retold here: —

Not so very many years have passed away since a boatman ferried over an unknown man from the main land to the town. A small rafter which this stranger carried with him, aroused his suspicion, for who was ever so odd as to fetch from beyond the broad bay a thing like that, so easy to buy anywhere in the town? Quietly rowing on, he entered into conversation with him, and thus learnt from him where he was going. He landed him at the jetty, and was paid his fare, but no sooner was the stranger out of sight than the coins transformed themselves in the hand of the ferry-man into just so many sheets of paper currency for the world of ghosts. He at once fathomed the mystery to the very bottom, hurried to the house which his passenger had mentioned, and arrived just in time to save the life of the housewife, who was busily engaged with hanging herself at a rafter of the roof, in her wrath at a thrashing just received from the partner of her joys and sorrows.

The following case had a less satisfactory issue for its hero. He happened to pass by a grave in the shades of evening, when he perceived a man doing his best to push a rafter over a wall of a neighbouring house. Thinking that this signified burglary, he stole to a side-door and warned the inmates, who searched the house thoroughly for thieves, but found nothing suspicious, except a woman of the family just trying to hang herself from a roof-beam. The devil's murderous intent being thus frustrated, the discoverer of it, elated with pride and self-satisfaction, and loaded with the cordial thanks of the family, went home and immediately told his wife of it. But she was an inquisitive character, not contented with bare tale, and wanted an actual exhibition of the hanging-scene. The obedient goodman mounted upon a chair, slung a cord across one of the rafters,

---

死、死則魂升于天、魄降于地。魄屬陰、其精沉淪入地、化爲此物. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 52.

[1] 弔鬼.

and laid a running noose around his neck, when suddenly an unseen hand capsized the chair and swung him into eternity with a broken neck. Thus the rancorous spectre had its victim, and its vengeance in addition.

The generality of the belief in such suicide-spectres working to the peril of mankind, may be admitted from the existence of various written tales, of which they and their mischief are the topics.

"Ch'en Kung-ping lived on terms of friendship with his fellow "villager Li Fu. One evening, in autumn, he strolled in the moon- "light to the house of this man to have a chat. 'I am just wishing "to take some wine with my wife', said Li to him, 'but I find "that I have none; sit down for a moment, I will go and buy some, "and then enjoy the moonlight with you'. Ch'en sat down with "a piece of poetry in his hand, to await his friend's return.

"Then outside the gate a woman appeared, in a blue dress and "with dishevelled hair. She opened the door and entered, but "on seeing Ch'en she immediately retired. Ch'en supposed that she "was one of Li's family, who thought it better not to enter because "she wished to avoid the stranger; therefore he shifted a little "sideways, to give room to her. She took something out of her "sleeve, hid it under the railing of the gate, and hurried into the "house, and Ch'en, curious to know what she had hidden there, "went to the railing, and saw a cord emitting a bad smell and "stained with blood. It now occurred to him that she might be "the ghost of a hanged person; he hid the cord in his boot, and "sat down again.

"After a short while, the woman with the dishevelled hair came "out of the house and groped in the spot where she had put the "cord. Missing this, she flew into a passion and made straight for "Ch'en. 'Give me back my thing!' she cried. 'What thing?' asked "he, but the woman did not give an answer. Drawing herself "up to her full height, and opening her mouth as wide as she "could, she blew out a cold wind over him, which froze his "hair and made his teeth chatter; the lamplight sputtered and "became green, as if about to be extinguished. 'The spectre has "breath', Ch'en thought, 'have I none?' — and he too blew at "the woman; and lo, the spot where his breath hit her grew "hollow. First her belly was bored right through, then followed "her breast, and in the end her head disappeared; a moment had "sufficed to turn her into a light vapour, which dissolved and "vanished, and did not re-appear.

"After some moments Li entered with the wine, and loudly cried "that his wife had hung herself from their bed. But Ch'en smiled; "'she cannot be hurt', said he, 'for I have still the rope of the "spectre in my boot'; and while he related what had come to pass, "they entered and untied the woman. They poured ginger-water "into her mouth, and seeing her come round, asked her why she "had desired death. She replied:[1]

"Although we are very poor, my husband is always so bent "on guests; the only hairpin I still have he has drawn out to "buy wine with, and however deeply this grieved me, I could "not cry, because of the visitor on the premises — when sud-"denly a woman with dishevelled hair stood beside me, saying she "was a neighbour living to the left; my husband, she told me, "had not drawn out my hairpin on behalf of the guest, but to go "with it to the gambling-house. These words increased my sorrow "and indignation; the thought crossed my brain that if my "husband did not come home because it was late at night, the "visitor would not go, there being nobody to tell him to do so,

---

[1] 陳公鵬與鄉人李孚相善。秋夕乘月色過李閒話。李謂陳曰、與婦謀酒、不得、子少坐、我外出沽酒、與子賞月。陳持其詩卷坐觀待之。

門外有婦人、藍衣蓬首。開戶入、見陳便却去。陳疑李氏戚也、避客故不入、乃側坐避婦人。婦人袖物來、藏門檻下、身走入內、陳心疑何物、就檻視之、一繩也、臭有血痕。陳悟此乃縊鬼、取其繩置靴中、坐如故。

小頃蓬首婦出、探藏處。失繩、怒直奔陳前。呼曰、還我物。陳曰、何物、婦不答。但聳立張口、吹陳冷風一陣、如冰毛髮噤齘、燈熒熒青色將滅。陳私念鬼尚有氣、我獨無氣乎、乃亦鼓氣吹婦、婦當公吹處成一空洞。始而腹穿、繼而胸穿、終乃頭滅、頃刻如輕烟散盡、不復見矣。

少頃李持酒入、大呼婦縊于床。陳笑曰、無傷也、鬼繩尚在我靴、告之故、乃共入解救。灌以薑湯、蘇問何故尋死。其妻曰、

"and — the woman with dishevelled hair with her own hands "made a noose. 'Through this you may pass into the boundless "delights of Buddha's realm', she said; I put my head into "the noose, but her hands could not draw it tight; it slackened "repeatedly. Then with the words: 'I shall fetch my own Buddha-"cord, this will make a Buddha of you', she hurried out of the "door to fetch it, but was absent for a long time, during which "I was dozy and dreaming; and then you came to save me'. They "made inquiries, and indeed, some months ago a village woman "in the neighbourhood had hanged herself" [1].

We learn from this tale, that the cord with which a suicide has strangled himself is an appendage of his ghost while in search of a substitute, and that this instrument, having once done its fatal work successfully, is particularly suited to perform it a second time, and even many more times in succession. "In Hang-chen "(Chehkiang pr.), a storeyed house inhabited by the Hü family "and standing by the Wang-sien bridge, was said to be inhabited "by the ghost of a hanged person. A butcher, Chu Shih-'rh by "name, confident of his courage, took the knife with which he "used to kill pigs, mounted to the upper storey with a candle, and "slept there. After the third watch-drum had sounded, the flame "of the candle turned blue, and an old hag with dishevelled "hair climbed the ladder, with a rope in her hand. Chu struck "at her with his knife, and as she tried to catch him with the "rope, he hacked this through; the ends however rejoined and the "rope whirled around the knife, but the knife passed through it "as easily as if it were a hempcutter's knife. Thus the struggle "went on for some time, the strength of the old woman gradu-

---

[1] 家貧甚、夫君好客不已、頭止一釵拔去沽酒、心悶甚、客又在外未便聲張、旁忽有蓬首婦人、自稱左鄰、告我以夫非爲客拔釵也、將赴賭錢場耳。我愈爲恨、且念夜深夫不歸、客不去、無面目辭客、蓬首婦手作圈。曰、從此入即佛國懽喜無量、余從此圈入、而手套不緊、圈屢散。婦人曰、取吾佛帶來、則成佛矣、走出取帶、良久不來、余方冥然若夢、而君來救我矣。訪之、隣數月前果縊死一村婦. *Tsze puh yü*, ch. 4.

"ally failing. 'Chu Shih-'rh!' she cried with a curse, I am not "at all afraid of you, but there is still due to your good fortune "a sum of 15000 copper coins which you have not yet received; "it is on account of this circumstance that I will pardon you "now, but no sooner will you have received that money than you "will experience the dexterity of the hands of me, Mrs. Kin Lao-"ts'in'. With these words she departed, dragging the rope after "her. Chu descended from the storey and told the crowd what "had happened, showing them his knife, stained with red blood "and stinking. A year later he sold his house for 15000 coins, and "died the same evening"[1].

Thus we see that ghosts of suicides by the cord sometimes attack brave people by brute force. The following tale confirms this:

"A detective in Kü-yung (Nganhwui pr.), Yin Khien by name, "was a famous thief-catcher, who every night used to lie on the "look-out in obscure, unfrequented spots. Once he was on the way to "a village, when a man with a cord, running with blind haste, "dashed against his back. 'This must be a thief', said Yin to "himself, and he followed him till he came to a house and scaled "the wall. Yin thought it better not to catch him yet, but to "watch him first, for if he delivered an innocent man to the "magistrate, he would probably not receive any reward, while "by waiting till the man should leave the house and then rob-"bing him of his loot, he would be sure to get much more. But "suddenly the suppressed wailing of a woman reached his ears. "He was now all suspicion, scaled the wall, and saw a married "woman dressing her hair before a mirror, while a being in the "roofbeam with dishevelled hair tried to catch her with a cord.

---

[1] 杭州望仙橋許姓住樓相傳有縊死鬼。屠戶朱十二者恃其勇、取殺猪刀登樓、秉燭臥。三鼓後燭光青色、果一老嫗被髮持繩而上。朱斫以刀、嫗套以繩、刀斫繩、繩斷復續、繩繞刀、刀亦如捆。格鬬良久、老嫗力漸衰。罵曰、朱十二、我非怕你、你福分內尙有十五千銅錢未得、故我且饒你、待你得後試我金老親娘手段。言畢拖繩走。朱下樓、告知衆人、視其刀有紫血且臭。年餘朱賣屋得價錢十五千、是夕果卒. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 8.

"Yin now conceived that it was the ghost of a hanged person "seeking for a substitute. Shouting loudly, he broke through the "window; the neighbours ran together in consternation, while Yin "explained his behaviour, and indeed they saw the woman hanging "from the beam. They lifted her up and thus saved her, and her "parents-in-law came to tender their thanks, and brought wine to "refresh them.

"After they had dispersed, our hero went home by the same "road. The day had not yet broken. Hearing a ticking sound "behind him, he looked back, and saw the spectre with the rope. "'What did it matter to you that I was catching that woman?' "said it with a curse; 'why did you infringe our customary laws?' "and it gave him blows with both its hands. But Yin, brave and "strong, paid it back its blows, and the spots where his fists lighted "were cold and rank. Daylight by and by broke, and the force "of the spectre with the cord waned in proportion, while Yin's "agility and strength increased; he grasped the ghost tightly in "his arms, and a passer-by saw him embracing a piece of rotten "wood and furiously uttering vehement curses. Approaching to "investigate the matter, that man found Yin apparently dreaming, "but he came round, and the rotten wood dropped to the ground. "'The spectre clings to this wood', he angrily exclaimed, 'but I do "not pardon the wood'; and he took a nail, and nailed it up "against the pillar in his courtyard.

"There they heard it wail and weep every night as if labouring "under untolerable pain and grief. After some nights had thus "elapsed, moaning, childlike voices were heard speaking with that "being, and soothing it, and imploring mercy on its behalf, but "Yin did not attend to them. Among those voices was one of a "spectre which said: 'Be glad that the house-owner has merely "nailed you up; had he tied you with a rope, your suffering "would be much worse'. 'Hold your tongue!', the other spectres "whispered at once. On the next day Yin replaced the nail by a "rope. That evening he no more heard the spectre weep, and the "next morning he saw that the rotten wood had disappeared"[1].

---

[1] 句容捕者殷乾捕賊有名、每夜伺人于陰僻處。將往一村、有持繩索者貿貿然急奔、衝突其背。殷私憶此必盜也、尾之至一家、則踰垣入矣。殷又私憶捕之不如伺之、捕之不過獻官未

As ghosts of hanged persons are always in search of victims to follow their example, they are, of course, present immediately wherever intent to self-murder arises. In the Standard History of the Kin dynasty we read of a loyal officer, P'u-ch'ah Khi [1], also named Jen-khing [2], living in the first half of the thirteenth century, who put an end to his life to avoid ignominy: "When he came home, "his mother was just having a nap, and awoke with a shudder. "'Mother', asked Khi, 'what is the matter with you?' 'I was just "dreaming', she replied, 'of three men hidden in the roof-beams; "this frightened me out of my sleep'. Jen-khing knelt down and "said: 'Those men in the beams are ghosts; I, your child, intend "to hang myself from the beams, and you have foreseen this in "your dream'. The family burst into tears, and dissuaded him "with the words: 'do not you think of your old mother?' But

---

必獲賞、伺其出而刼之必得重利。俄聞隱隱然有婦女哭聲。殷疑之、亦踰垣入、見一婦梳粧對鏡、梁上有蓬頭者以繩釣之。殷知此乃縊死鬼求代耳。大呼破窻入、隣右驚集、殷具道所以、果見婦懸于梁。乃救起之、婦之公姑咸來致謝、具酒爲欵。

散後從原路歸。天猶未明。背簌簌有聲、回顧、則持繩鬼也。罵曰、我自取婦干汝何事而破我法、以雙手搏之。殷膽素壯、與之對搏、拳所著處冷且腥。天漸明持繩者力漸憊、殷愈奮勇、抱持不釋、路有過者見殷抱一朽木、口喃喃大罵。上前諦視、殷恍如夢、醒而朽木亦墜地矣。殷怒曰、鬼附此木、我不赦木、取釘釘之庭柱。

每夜聞哀泣聲不勝痛楚。過數夕有來共語者、慰唁者、代乞恩者、啾啾然、聲如小兒、殷皆不理。中有一鬼曰、幸主人以釘釘汝、若以縛繩汝則汝愈苦矣。群鬼噪曰、勿言、勿言。次日殷以繩易釘。至夕不聞鬼泣聲、明旦視朽木竟遁去.

*Tszĕ puh yū*, ch. 6.

[1] 蒲察琦. [2] 仁卿.

"she stopped them, saying: 'do not interfere with my child; his "resolve is correct'. And he did hang himself" [1].

That spectres not seldom impel men to selfmurder at the state-examinations for literary degrees, we have already seen (pp. 461 *sqq.*). Suicidal intent may arise by the mere apparition or presence of a suicide-spectre, as the following tale shows: "In the first year of "the Yung shun period (A.D. 682) the mother of Yuen Shui, "in T'ung-cheu, was seated by broad daylight in the main "apartment of her house, when she saw on the other side of the "screen a dwarf riding on a pony into the house. It was two "or three feet in size, and the dimensions of the pony were in "proportion. It was in ornate dress and armour, which glistered "as sunlight. It swiftly rode round the walls of the courtyard for "a good while; then it faded away, and on this the woman con-"tinuously sought to put an end to her life, so that the whole "family guarded her. After a year or so her passion for suicide "abated a little; but one night, on having retired to rest, she put "her clothes under the blankets instead of herself, and escaped "through the gate. Her guardians perceived it and sought her, but "she threw herself into the well, and while they were drawing her "out she expired" [2].

---

[1] 琦既至其家、母氏方晝寢、驚而寤。琦問、阿母何爲。母曰、適夢三人潛伏梁間、故驚寤。仁卿跪曰、梁上人鬼也、兒意在懸梁、阿母夢先見耳。家人輩泣、勸曰、君不念老母歟。母止之曰、勿勸兒、所處是矣。卽自縊. Ch. 124, l. 9.

[2] 永淳初同州司功元鑒其母白日在堂坐、忽見屏外有小人騎小馬入來。人長二三尺、馬亦相稱。衣甲具裝、光彩輝日。於庭內巡墻馳走良久方滅、此後母常欲自殺、合家守之。經年稍怠、母夜臥、以衣置被中自代、便卽走出。侍者覺之、分奔、已投於井、比及出之、殆亦絕矣. K K. ch. 361, which quoted the tale from the *Kwang ku-kin wu hing chi* 廣古今五行志 or Elaborated Account of Phenomena produced by the five Elements in Times Ancient and Modern, a work on wonders of all sorts, mentioned in the Catalogue of the New Books of the T'ang Dynasty (ch. 59, l. 28) as written by one Tsu Wei-wuh 祖維烝, and consisting of thirty chapters. It still existed under the Sung dynasty, but it seems to be now lost.

## CHAPTER X.

### SPECTRES WITH A MATERIAL BODY. VAMPIRISM.

It will not have escaped the attention of the reader in perusing various chapters of this Book, that the Chinese by no means always imagine their ghosts with a volatile, etherial shape, but rather manifest a tendency to think them more or less solid and substantial, if not material. This phenomenon has given birth to terrible devils of great strength, of which we must now treat at some length; first, however, its reality may further be instanced by a couple of authentic tales.

"In the Khai yuen period (713—742) the Governor of the "province of Liang (now Kansuh), Kwoh Chi-yun by name, while "on a tour of inspection, was smitten by death at a post-house one "hundred miles from the provincial chief city. His soul then left "the room, ordering the headman of the post-house to shut it "and open it no more, and returned to the city, while his menials "who travelled with him had no idea that he was dead. Having "arranged his public and private business in his mansion in some "forty days, he ordered some men to go and fetch his remains "from the post-house. On their return he himself directed the "dressing and coffining; subsequently he took leave of his family, "and entered into the corpse and the coffin. After this he appeared "no more" [1].

The following strange story teaches us not less strikingly how a soul may be a perfect duplicate, visible and tangible, of its body: "In

---

[1] 開元中凉州節度郭知運出巡、去州百里于驛中暴卒。其魂遂出、令驛長鎖房勿開、因而却回府、徒從不知也。至舍四十餘日處置公私事畢、遂使人往驛迎已喪。既至自看其殮、殮訖因與家人辭訣、投身入棺。遂不復見. *Kwang i ki*; K K, ch. 330.

"the first year of the Ching yuen period (A.D. 785), Li Tsih from "Ho-nan, Sub-intendant of the Palace, breathed his last. Before they "laid him in his coffin, a man in red appeared at the house to "offer his condolences, telling the family that he was one Su, "Chancellor of a Board. He entered, and his wailing and lamen- "tation had reached the highest pitch of intensity, when suddenly "the corpse drew itself up and exchanged blows with him. The "members of the family ran out of the hall in consternation. The "two men closed the door, and fought until eventide; and when "the mourning sons thereupon ventured into the room, they saw "two corpses side by side on the couch. Their dimensions, shapes "and features, their beards and their clothes did not show the slightest "difference. The clanspeople were called together, but none could "distinguish the one from the other; so they buried them together "in one coffin" [1].

The idea that souls may move about in solid forms hardly different from corporeality, cannot appear unnatural when we consider that ghosts of the dead can scarcely rise before the mind of man otherwise than in the material shape in which he knew them while they were alive. Ghosts dwell, as our readers know, according to the Chinese, in their graves, implicated in the corpse, or even in single portions of it; as a natural consequence we see them rise before their imagination very often as dry carcasses, or even as bones or skulls. Corpses or bones are deemed to sustain, strengthen and solidify the souls to which they belong; — accordingly, a ghost which still has its corpse or bones at its disposal, either in or outside the grave, must, when breeding evil, naturally be a demon of special power. It is no feeble ghost, easily frustrated in its bad designs by clever men, and therefore having to recur to sly, covert artifices if it wishes to do harm; but, having substantiality to rely on, it is apt to attack men straightforwardly, with brute force and clumsy violence.

---

[1] 貞元初河南少尹李則卒。未斂有一朱衣人來投刺申弔、自稱蘇郎中。既入哀慟尤甚、俄頃屍起、與之相搏。家人子驚走出堂。二人閉門、毆擊及暮方息、孝子乃敢入、見二尸共臥在牀。長短形狀姿貌鬚髯衣服一無差異。於是聚族、不能識、遂同棺葬之. *Tuh i chi*; K K, ch. 339.

For instance: — "In the first year of the Yung t'ai period "(A.D. 765) one Wang lived in Yang-chcu, to the north of the "Hiao-kan monastery. In a summer month he got drunk, and his "arm hung down from his bed. His wife, fearing that he might "catch rheumatism, would lift it up, when suddenly a large hand "appeared before the bed, and pulled Wang down from it by his "arm, his body thereupon slowly sinking into the ground. His "wife and his female slaves together pulled him back, but they "could not stop him, for it was as if the ground burst asunder. "The clothes and girdle which he had laid aside disappeared also. "Then the family with all their might grubbed him up, and at a "depth of more than two chang found a dry skeleton, apparently "some centuries old. I have never known what spectre this was" [1].

Such notions about extraordinary power of ghosts which retain possession of their body or parts of it, are further corroborated by the conception, so vividly impressed in all ages upon the Chinese mind, about the possibility of bodily revival. There is then sufficient ground for a thriving belief in what we may call corpse-spectres or haunting corpses, a belief which, as books teach us, has frequently induced people to exhume and destroy corpses on account of apparitions ascribed to these. "Outside the south gate of Tan-yang", we read for instance, "a member of the Lü tribe possessed a "garden of beans, from which he drew very considerable profits. "Always when the fruits were ripening, Lü and his sons kept "watch there against thieves. One night the moon was shining "brightly, and the father was squatting on a boulder with his "eyes on his plants, when he saw among them a being, with hair "hanging down disorderly, emerge from the ground. His eyes "grew dim with fear; he called his sons, and going to catch "that being, they saw a young woman in red dress draw herself "up with a bound; the father fell to the earth in terror, and "the sons ran back home like madmen, with the woman at their

---

[1] 永泰初有王生者、住在楊州孝感寺北。夏月被酒、手垂於牀。其妻恐風射、將舉之、忽有巨手出於牀前、牽王臂墜牀、身漸入地。其妻與奴婢共曳之、不禁、地如裂狀。初除衣帶頃亦不見。其家併力掘之、深二杖許得枯骸一具、已如數百年者。竟不知何怪. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 13.

"heels. At the main gate of the house she gave up the chase and "stood quite rigid and motionless, one leg outside the gate, and "the other within. The shrieks of the sons summoned the members "of the family with their swords and sticks, but none ventured "near the woman, lest her cold breath might strike them. Thus "she quietly resumed her advance, stooped, and disappeared under "a bed.

"Having revived their unconscious father with some ginger-water, "the sons took him home, and convoked the neighbours. They all "set to work to dig up the ground under the bed, and they found "a red coffin with the corpse of a woman in red, resembling that "of the previous night. From that time the father and the sons "lacked courage to watch their garden and its trees. Three days "passed away, when a man was found lying under the beans. Lü "and his sons brought him to his senses with a liquor, and asked "him whence he came. 'I am a neighbour of yours from the west "side', he said; 'seeing so many beans of you quite unguarded, "I came to steal them, but suddenly saw under the plants a "headless man beckoning to me; I fell to the ground in terror "at the sight'. Again the sons fetched men to dig up the spot, "and this time they found a black coffin with a headless corpse. "The two bodies, quite rigid and undecayed, they placed side by "side and burned them; and henceforth there occurred no more "visitations"[1].

---

[1] 丹陽南門外呂姓者有皂莢園、取利甚大。每結實時呂氏父子守之、防有偷者。一夕月下其父坐石上看樹、樹下有蓬髮鬖鬖然從土中出。懼而不視、呼其子往曳之、有紅衣女子闖然起、父驚仆地、其子狂奔入室、女追之。至大門忽僵立不動、一足在門外、一足在門內。子大呼、家人持刀杖齊集、畏其冷氣射人、俱不敢近。女子從容起行、僵身入床下、遂不見。

其子持薑湯灌醒其父、扶以歸、招鄰人。共掘床下、果一朱棺、中有紅衣女尸、如夜所見。嗣後父子不敢看園守樹矣。逾三日皂莢樹下又有仆於地者。呂氏子亦灌醒之、問其由來。曰、我西鄰也、見君家皂莢甚多無人看守、故來偷

Such radical measures against corpses so dangerous seem to have been adopted in all times and ages. As noted on page 1406 of Book I, some two thousand years ago the Imperial consort Chao-sin disinterred and burned five of her husband's concubines and slaves whom she had murdered, because their spectres disturbed her rest. In the fifth century, "antecedent to his demise, Tszĕ-hiun, prince "of Tsin-ngan, was advised by a wu to open the mausoleum of "the empress-dowager Chao (the consort of the emperor Wen), "and to destroy her coffin, in order to suppress the evil it might "work" [1]. Inspired by the same notions no doubt was the grandee of whom we have heard on page 424, when he destroyed by fire the corpse of his wife, to prevent it from emerging anew from her coffin for adulterous intercourse with another mandarin of that region.

Not a few corpse-spectres have visited mankind in the shape of skulls. They did so at least so early as the fourth century, for we read in the collection of T'ao Ts'ien: "In Sin-yé the mother of one "Yü Kin was ill. He and his two brothers were all at home to "nurse her, and even in broad daylight burned fires (to scare "away spectres). Once on a sudden they saw the hangings for "tying up the curtains roll themselves up and down several times, "and heard for a moment a dog before the bed howl strangely. All "the inmates of the house came to see what was the matter, and "saw no dog, but a dead man's head lying on the floor, with the "hair still on it; its two eyes rolled in their sockets — a most "dreadful sight, scaring the family out of their wits. The thing "then moved out of the house through the gate without being "touched, and they buried it behind in a field; but next morning "going to look, they found that it had worked itself out of the "ground, and that its eyes were still rolling as before. Again they "buried it, and again it appeared next day above the ground; on "which they interred it with tiles over it, so that it came forth "no more. Next day their mother breathed her last" [2].

---

竊、不意見樹下有無頭人以手招我、我故駭而仆地。其子又集人掘之、得黑棺埋一無頭尸。皆僵不腐、聚而焚之、其怪遂絶. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 14.

[1] 先是晉安王子勛未卒、巫者謂宜開昭太后陵、毀去梓宮、以厭勝. History of the South, ch. 11, l. 7; also the Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 41, l. 16.

[2] 新野庾謹母病。兄弟三人悉在侍疾、白日常

Another work relates, that "in the village of Lai-t'ing in Shang-tu "Mrs. Li was sitting in the hall of her house in broad daylight, "when suddenly she beheld her husband's deceased sister in white "dress, with a linen kerchief over her head. The phantom approached "and pursued her, and she tried to escape by running round the "bed, but the ghost did not give up the chase. She then ran away "through the door. At full speed they tore across hills and rocks, "and nobody had the courage to help her, but happily some "cavalry at the north gate fell upon the ghost with their whips; "under their blows it shrunk away, until nothing remained of it "on the ground but the kerchief, covering something which they "found to be a skull" [1].

"Sun Kiün-sheu of Shang-shuh was an atrociously bad character, "bent on insulting the shen and maltreating the kwei. Once he "was strolling in the hills with some others, and had reason to "retire. For fun he squatted over a dry skull by a neglected grave, "and made it swallow his faeces, saying: 'eat this, is it not deli-"cious?' on which the skull, its jaws wide open, spoke: 'yes it is'. "Horrified at this, Kiün-sheu ran away as fast as his legs could "bear him, with the skull rolling behind him over the ground like "a car-wheel, till he reached a bridge, up which it could not "manage to raise itself. From an eminence he saw the skull roll "back to its old place. Ashy pale as a corpse he came home, and "fell ill. Constantly he brought his excrements to his mouth with

---

燃火。忽見帳帶自卷自舒、如此數四、須臾聞床前聞狗聲異常。舉家共視了、不見狗、見一死人頭在地、頭猶有髮、兩眼尚動、甚可憎惡、其家怖懼。乃不持出門、卽於後園中葬之、明日往視乃出土上、兩眼猶爾。卽又埋之、後日復出、乃以塼頭合埋之、遂不復出。他日其母便亡. *Sheu shen heu ki*, ch. 8.

[1] 上都來庭里婦人李氏者晝坐家堂、忽見其夫亡姊、身衣白服、戴布幞巾。逕來逐已、李氏遽怵避走、追逐不止。乃出門。絕驅崎嶇之中、莫敢支吾救援之者、有北門萬騎卒以馬鞭擊之、隨手而消、止有幞頭布奄然至地、其下得一髑髏骨焉. *Kwang i ki*; K K, ch. 336.

"his hand, and swallowed them, saying to himself: 'eat this, is it "not nice?' — then he voided them anew, and devoured them "again, going on in this wise for three whole days, when he died" [1].

This story seems an embellished version of the following: "In "the year ping or ting of the Chi yuen period (1336 or 1337), "Yin Kang-lo and some other men of Lü-ling were out in the "evening for a stroll to the Sih-kia lake. They were eating salted "plums, and put the stones into the mouth of a skull lying on "the roadside, with the words: 'do you find them salt?' They "then passed on and came to a long trench. Here they saw in the "bright moonlight a black ball coming rolling on behind them, "crying: 'they are salt, salt'. In the greatest fright they ran more "than ten miles, till they got across some water at the village of Yung, "and heard the voice no more" [2].

Skulls may haunt even without being so bitterly provoked. "The "country of Ch'u-cheu (in Chehkiang pr.) is very mountainous. "There, in the district of Li-shui, situated south of the peak of "the Residence of the immortal Genii, farmers ploughing and "sowing often break up waste ground, even as far as halfway up "the mountains. In those mountains spectres abound, and people "all begin and finish their work early, not venturing abroad in dark. "Once in the latter part of autumn, a land-owner, Li by name, "came to the village to cut his rice, and put up alone in a farm-"house. One night when the moon was shining splendidly, he was

---

[1] 常熟孫君壽性獰惡、好慢神虐鬼。與人遊山、腹如厠。戲取荒塚骷髏蹲踞之、令吞其糞、曰、汝食佳乎、骷髏張口曰佳。君壽大駭急走、骷髏隨之滾地如車輪然、君壽至橋、骷髏不得上。君壽登高望之、骷髏仍滾歸原處。君壽至家面如死灰、遂病。日遺屎輒手取吞之、自呼曰、汝食佳乎、食畢更遺、遺畢更食、三日而死. *Tsze puh yü*, ch. 1.

[2] 至元丙丁廬陵印岡羅某數人夜行至習家湖。因食鹽梅以核置道旁髑髏之口、問曰、鹹不鹹。前行至長坑。月光燦然見後有黑團旋轉隨逐而來、呼曰、鹹鹹。諸人大懼疾行十餘里、至榮村渡水、乃不聞其聲. TS, sect. 神異, ch. 46; from the *I wen tsung luh*.

"taking a stroll on the hill in front, when suddenly he saw a white "thing hopping towards him. This strange sight quickly scared "him back to his dwelling, which he reached with the thing close "on his heels. Happily the entrance of the hut had a kind of "railing, which could be slid forward, and which the spectre could "not get over. He succeeded in pushing it to, and regaining "his courage distinctly saw in the bright moonlight through the "openings of the railing that a skull was biting the latter and "butting against it; the fetid stench was intolerable. After a few "moments the cock crew, and he saw the thing drop to the ground "as a mere heap of white bone; and when it was light, he saw "no more of it.

"He asked for information about that apparition, and a hus- "bandman said: 'You may congratulate yourself that you have had "to do with a white bone ghost; this circumstance has saved you "from disaster; — had it been the hoary old wife, feigning to "keep a shop, she would of a certainty have offered you some of "her tobacco to smoke, and those who smoke it generally lose "their vitality. That spectre always appears to do its evil work "in nights with bright moonshine and pure breeze, and it can be "knocked down with nothing else but a broom'. I have never "learned what spectre this is" [1].

Even fragments of skulls may become haunting spectres. "The

[1] 處州地多山。麗水縣在仙都峯之南、土人耕種多有間舉到半山者。山中多怪、人皆早作早休、不敢夜出。時值秋深有田主李某到鄉刈稻、獨住莊房。一夕月色甚佳、主人閑步前山、忽見一白物躃踊而來。狀甚怪、因急回寓、其物已追踪而至。幸庄房門有半截柵欄、可推而進、怪不能越。主人進柵、胆壯、月色甚明、從柵縫中細看乃是一髑髏咬撞柵門、腥臭不可當。少頃鷄鳴、見其物倒地、祇白骨一堆、天明亦復不見。

問之、土人曰、幸足下遇白骨精、故得無恙、若遇白髮老婦假開店面、必請足下喫烟、凡喫其烟者從無生理。月白風清之夜常出作祟、惟用荊帚可以擊倒之。亦終不知何怪 *Tsze puh yu*, ch. 17

"medical Buddhist priest Hing-jü related the following adventure "of a colleague of his in Fuh-cheu, named Hung-tsi, a man of "high order, living a pure life of severe abstinence. Having found "a piece of a skull on the sand at the riverside, he placed it in "his clothes-basket, and took it to his convent. Here, a few days "later, while asleep, a being bit his ear and pulled at it, on "which there followed a noise as of a falling object several pecks "in size. He thought that it was the bone, but next morning he "found himself on the floor before his couch. He then broke the "bone into six pieces, and placed them in the gutter of the eaves, "and at midnight a series of lights as big as fowl's eggs moved "from there and disappeared under the tiles. He took a torch to the "spot and admonished the bone, saying: 'you cannot help a living "man, for which of His designs would Heaven employ you, a "decayed bone?' Herewith the phenomenon ceased" [1].

A much greater number of spectre-tales have for their topic corpses prowling about materially in their horrid entirety. We saw on page 410, that according to the *Tso ch'wen*, Tszĕ-ch'an stated as early as the sixth century before Christ, that a dead man might become a devil of an especially bad sort if his soul or souls did not leave his corpse. Numerous narratives point to the prevalence of that belief in all ages, up to this day. As early as the second century of our era an author wrote:

"The pavilion at the west gate of Jü-yang, a place in Jü-nan "(in Honan), was inhabited by a spectre. Visitors who lodged there "had lost their lives, or if they resisted the spectre, some hair or "some of their vitality; and, when one made inquiries after all "that, he was told of strange beings haunting that place from days "of yore. Later on, Ching Khi of I-luh, the literary officer of that "province, arrived there. While yet six or seven miles from the "spot, a very beautiful woman asked him for a seat in his car-

---

[1] 醫僧行儒說福州有僧宏濟、上人、齋戒清苦。嘗於沙岸得一顱骨、遂貯衣籃中歸寺。數日忽眠中有物齧其耳、以手撥之、落聲如數升物。疑其顱骨所爲也、及明果墮在牀下。遂破爲六片零、置瓦溝中、夜半有火如雞卵次第入瓦下。燭之、宏濟責曰、爾不能求生人、天憑朽骨何也。於是怪絶. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 13.

"riage. At first he objected, but finally she mounted, and drove "with him into the pavilion to the bottom of the stairs. Here "the custodians had posted up a warning that the storey should "not be ascended, but he answered that he did not feel any "aversion to doing so; and as it grew dark then, he mounted "the stairs, and put up there for the night in the company of "that woman.

"Before daybreak he departed. A custodian went upstairs to sweep, "and found the corpse of a woman. Horrified he ran to the super-"intendent of the pavilion, who beat the drum to call together the "officials from their apartments, and hurried with them to the "spot to inspect the corpse. They discovered her to be the wife of "one Wu, who lived eight miles off to the north-west. She had just "then died, and on her being coffined that same evening the light "had gone out; and when another light was brought, she had dis-"appeared. Her family now took the corpse home immediately. As "to Ching Khi, he had hardly travelled a few miles when he was "seized with belly-ache; this became worse at the Li-yang pavilion "in Sin-tun, and there he breathed this last. After that event nobody "ventured to that storey" [1].

Yü Pao, in whose book the same narrative occurs (ch. 16), adds another to the following effect:

"In Yung-ch'wen, one Chung Yiu, alias Yuen-shang, had not "attended the official meetings for several months, and his ideas "and character took so singular a turn, that somebody asked him "what was the matter with him. He then avowed that he received

---

[1] 汝南汝陽西門亭有鬼魅。賓客宿止有死亡、其厲厭者皆亡髮失精、尋問其故、云先時頗已有怪物。其後郡侍奉掾宜祿鄭奇來。去亭六七里有一端正婦人乞得寄載。奇初難之、然後上車、入亭、趨至樓下。吏卒徼白樓不可上、云我不惡也、時亦昏冥遂上樓、與婦人棲宿。

未明發去。亭卒上樓掃除、見死婦 大驚走白亭長、亭長擊鼓會諸廬吏、共集診之。乃亭西北八里吳氏婦。新亡、以夜臨殯火滅、火至失之。家卽持去。奇發行數里腹痛、到新頓利陽亭加劇物故。樓遂無敢復上. *Fung-suh tung i*, ch. 9.

"frequent visits from a lovely woman, an extraordinary beauty. 'To "be sure, she is a spectre', the other said, 'slay her!' Next time "when the woman went to him, she did not immediately advance, "but lingered outside the door. He asked her for the reason; 'you "wish to kill me', she replied. 'No', said Yiu, and he called her "urgently; so she entered, and Yiu, though unwilling, struck at "her and wounded her in the hip. Immediately the woman ran out "of the house, wiping off the blood with a piece of new cloth all "the way down the road. Next day Yiu had her footprints traced. "They led to a large grave, in the coffin of which a lovely woman "lay, with a body and limbs like those of a living person; she "wore a dress of white silk, and trousers of red embroidery, and "her left hip showed a wound, from which the blood had been "wiped off with some cotton hidden within her trousers" [1].

— "The local notable Ching Pin-yü", we read in a work of the eighth century, "relates, that when he sojourned somewhere in "Ho-poh, the wife of the village-headman had just died and was "still unburied, when after sunset her daughters suddenly heard "music which slowly approached. On its arrival in the courtyard, "the corpse moved; when it had entered the room and apparently "sounded between the beams and rafters of the roof, the corpse "raised itself up for a dance; the music then left the house, "and the dead woman, after some stumbling, left the dwelling to "follow it. This struck the family with terror. The moon being "in its dark phase, they dared not go out to look for the corpse, "but in the first watch of the night the village-headman came "home. Apprised of the event, he broke a branch as thick as his "arm from a mulberry tree, and nerved by some liquor set out in "search, uttering deep maledictions. Penetrating into the brushwood "which was full of graves, he marched five or six miles, when he heard

---

[1] 潁川鍾繇字元常嘗數月不朝會、意性異常、或問其故。云常有好婦來、美麗非凡。問者曰、必是鬼物、可殺之。婦人後往不即前、止戶外。繇問何以、曰、公有相殺意。繇曰、無此、勤勤呼之、乃入、繇意恨有不忍之、然猶斫之傷髀。婦人即出、以新綿拭血竟路。明日使人尋跡之。至一大冢、木中有好婦人、形體如生人、著白練衫丹繡裲襠、傷左髀、以裲襠中綿拭血. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 16.

"the music in the trees of a cypress grove; he drew near, and saw "the woman dancing under the trees in the glare of lights. The head-"man raised his stick and knocked her down; the music stopped, "and he carried the corpse home on his back" [1].

Thus also in China the dead are known to dance about occasionally at the sound of music, but I do not find them represented as gathering together purposely for nocturnal *danses macabres*. It is self-evident that, as two of the above tales bring out, bodily spectres must as a rule be corpses still fresh and undecayed, and indeed we find in the tales, that they rise especially before burial has hampered their movements by an envelope of solid wood and clay. Even tender women may then rage most fearfully, as the following story, much read, told, and re-told to this day, may testify:

"A certain old man of Yang-sin (in Shantung) lived in Ts'ai-"tien, a place in that district. His village lay five or six miles "from the walls of the district-city. He and his sons kept a road-"side inn to lodge travelling traders, and several carters and itinerant "pedlars used to put up under their roof. One day as it was "getting dark, four men appeared. Perceiving the house, they went "thither with the intention of staying, but the sleeping-rooms "destined for visitors were all occupied. Considering that there "was no other place to put up, the four men urgently entreated "the landlord to take them in somehow, on which he hm'd, and "said he thought a place might be found for them, though it "would not suit their taste. The strangers replied that all they "desired was a single mat to sleep on, and a shelter, and that they "could not be at all particular. The fact was, that a daughter-"in-law of the old man had just died, her body still lay uncof-

---

[1] 處士鄭賓于言嘗客河北、有村正妻新死未殮、日暮其兒女忽覺有樂聲漸近。至庭宇屍已動矣、及入房如在梁棟間、屍遂起舞、樂聲復出、屍倒、旋出門隨樂聲而去。其家驚懼。時月黑亦不敢尋逐、一更村正方歸。知之乃折一桑枝如臂、被酒大罵尋之。入墓林約五六里、復聞樂聲在一柏林上、及近樹、樹下有火熒熒然、屍方舞矣。村正舉杖擊之、屍倒、樂聲亦住、遂負屍而返.
*Yu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 13.

"fined in her house, and the son had gone to fetch a coffin and "had not yet returned. The old man took the strangers down "the street into the lonely house where the corpse lay. They entered "the apartment, where a lamp shed a dim light over a table; "behind this a curtain hung, and the deceased woman lay there "under paper shrouds. They saw also a sleeping-place in a screened-off "section, with four beds placed against each other in a row. Fatigued "by their journey, the strangers had no sooner thrown themselves on "their pillows than they were snoring loudly.

"One of them was not quite off, when suddenly he heard a "creaking sound on the couch of the corpse. Immediately he opened "his eyes, and saw distinctly by the light of the lamp standing "before the corpse, that it had raised the shroud and risen. In a "moment it was on the floor, and slowly entered the sleeping-room. "Her face had a wet gold hue, and she wiped her forehead with "a coarse gauze cloth. In a stooping attitude she approached the "beds and blew thrice on the three sleeping travellers; the fourth, "terror-struck, fearing that he too might be hit, gently drew the "blanket over his face and held his breath to listen. Forthwith "she breathed on him as she had done on the others; then he "perceived that she left the room, and hearing the rustling sound "of the paper shrouds, he put out his head to take a peep, and "saw her lying rigid as before[1].

---

[1] 陽信某翁者邑之蔡店人。村去城五六里。父子設臨路店宿行商、有車夫數人往來負販輒寓其家。一日昏暮四人皆來。望門投止、則翁家客宿邸滿。四人計無復之、堅請容納、翁沉吟思得一所、似恐不當客意。客言但求一席廈宇、更不敢有所擇。時翁有子婦新死、停尸室中、子出購材木未歸。翁以靈所室寂遂穿衢導客往。入其廬、燈昏案上、後有搭帳衣、紙衾覆逝者。又觀寢所、則複室中、有連榻四。客奔波頗困甫就枕、鼻息漸粗。

惟一客尚矇矓、忽聞靈牀上察察有聲。急開目、則靈前燈火照視甚了女尸已揭衾起。俄而下、漸入臥室。面淡金色、生絹抹額。俯近榻前

"The traveller, extremely frightened, lacked courage to raise the "alarm. Stealthily stretching forth his foot, he kicked his comrades, "but they did not stir in the least, and thus he conceived there "was no other alternative for him but to put on his clothes and "slink away. No sooner, however, did he rise and move his coat "than again there was that creaking noise, which caused him to "hide himself anew, terror-stricken, with his head under the blanket. "He perceived that the woman came again and breathed over him "repeatedly, doing this over and over again before she retired. "After a short pause, he knew by the noise on the death-bed that "she had lain down as before. Now he put his hand very slowly "out of the blanket, seized his trousers, quickly got into them, and "ran out of the house, bare-footed. The corpse too jumped up as "if to give him chase; but by the time it came forth from behind "the curtain the traveller had drawn the bolt and was off.

"With the corpse at his heels he rushed forth with loud shrieks, "which alarmed everybody in the hamlet. He would have thumped "the door of the inn, but for his fear that it would make him "lose time and bring him within reach of the demon; so, seeing "the road to the district-city before him, he ran up it with all his "might, till he reached the eastern suburb. Here he saw a Buddhist "convent, and hearing the wooden fish [1], nervously beat on the "outer gate. But the monks, astonished at such an unusual tumult, "hesitated to let him in; and as he turned round, he saw the corpse "quite near him, hardly one foot off. In these straits he sought "shelter behind a white willow four or five feet thick, standing "outside the convent-gate. As the corpse dodged to the right, he "dodged to the left, and so on, which enraged the corpse more "and more, and exhausted them both. On a sudden the corpse "stood still. The traveller, soaked with perspiration and with "panting chest, sheltered himself behind the tree; the corpse raised "itself fiercely and threw both its arms around it to grab him. "At that moment he sank to the ground in fright, and the corpse "thus missing its victim, remained rigid embracing the tree. For "a good while longer the monks stood listening, and hearing nothing

偪吹臥客者三、客大懼、恐將及已、潛引被覆首、閉息忍咽以聽之。未幾女果吹之如諸客、覺出房去、卽聞紙衾聲、出首微覘、見僵臥猶初矣。

1 A hollow, fish-shaped block beaten with a clapper while reciting sacred books and liturgies.

Narrow Escape from a Corpse-spectre.

— "he sank to the ground, and the corpse thus missing its victim remained rigid embracing the tree".

"more, they came forth circumspectly, to find the traveller flat on "the ground. By the light of their torches they perceived, that "though he was apparently dead, there was still a slight palpitation "under his heart. They bore him into the convent, but the night "passed away before he came round. Having refreshed him with "some broth, they interrogated him, and he related to them the "whole story. By that time the morning-bell sounded, and in the "early dawn, still dimmed by mist and fog, the monks examining "the tree discovered the woman upon it in a rigid condition [1].

"In great consternation they reported the incident to the magis- "trate of the district. This grandee appeared in person on the "spot to hold an inquest, and ordered his men to pull off the "arms of the woman; but so firmly were they fixed in the tree "that it was impossible to unclasp them. They found, in fact, on "a closer inspection, that the four fingers of either hand were bent "like hooks, and sunk into the wood so deeply that the nails were "buried in it. A fresh batch of men was set to work to pull with

---

[1] 客懼甚、不敢作聲。陰以足踏諸客、而諸客絶無少動、顧念無計不如著衣以竄。裁起振衣而窸窸之聲又作、客懼復伏、縮首衾中。覺女復來、連續吹數數始去。小間聞靈牀作響、知其復臥。乃從被底漸漸出手得袴、遽就著之、白足奔出。尸亦起、似將逐客、比其離幃而客已拔關出矣。

尸馳從之、客且奔且號、村中人無有警者。欲叩主人之門、又恐遲爲所及、遂望邑城路極力竄去至東郊。瞥見蘭若、聞木魚聲乃急趨山門。道人訝其非常又不卽納、旋踵尸已至、去身盈尺。客窘益甚、門外有白楊、圍四五尺許、因以樹自障。彼右則左之、尸益怒、然各寢倦矣。尸頓立。客汗促氣逆庇樹間、尸暴起、伸兩臂隔樹探撲之。客驚仆、尸捉之不得、抱樹而僵。道人竊聽良久、無聲始漸出、見客臥地上。燭之、死、然心下絲絲有動氣。負入、終夜始甦。飲以湯水而問之、客具以狀對。時晨鐘已盡、曉色迷濛、道人覘樹上、果見僵女。

"all their might; and as they tore her off, the holes made by the "fingers were found to look as if made with a chisel or auger.

"Now the mandarin dispatched a messenger to the old man, who "gave him a confused mixture of truth and untruth about the "disappearance of the corpse and the death of the travellers. The "matter being explained to him, he followed the messenger and "took the corpse home. The traveller, bursting into tears, said to "the magistrate: 'I left my home with three men, and now I must "return alone; what shall I do to make my fellow-villagers believe "my words?' So the mandarin gave him a certificate, and sent "him home with some presents"[1].

Not less instructive on our subject is the following tale: "In "Shao-hing (in Chehkiang pr.), a scholar, named Wang So-and-so, "had enjoyed a government allowance of rice (for his literary "attainments) for a year, when a wealthy family in a village "engaged him as a teacher. Their house was too small to lodge "him, but fortunately there was a new house about one mile off, "for which the owners sought a buyer. The family purchased it, "and lodged the teacher in it.

"Having inspected its interior, Wang returning to the gate pro- "ceeded to walk up and down and lean on it. By that time night "had fallen, and by the bright moonlight he saw on the hill a "brilliant glare. He hastened thither, and perceived that it beamed "forth from a coffin of unpainted wood. 'Were this a ghost-light "(will-o'the-wisp)', said Wang to himself, 'it would be white, with "flames slightly tinged red; is it perchance the spirit of gold or "silver?' It now flashed across him that it was recorded in the "'Bag of Knowledge', that a number of Turks and Huns in mourning- "clothes had loaded some coffins on cars and buried them outside "the town, and that their pursuers, on tracing those coffins, had "found them full of yellow and white metal; would not this coffin

---

[1] 大駭報邑宰。宰親詣質驗、使人拔女手、牢不可開。審諦之、則左右四指並捲如鉤、入木沒甲。又數人力拔乃得下、視指穴如鑿孔然。

遣役探翁家、則以尸亡客斃紛紛正譁。役告之故、翁乃從往舁尸歸。客泣告宰曰、身四人出、今一人歸、此情何以信鄉里。宰與之牒、齎送以歸. *Liao-chai chi* 1, chapter 13.

"be something similar? What luck that nobody but he was there "to appropriate it![1]

"He picked up a stone, hammered the nails out, and forced up "the lid at the head; but how great was his horror on seeing a "corpse with a livid face and a swollen belly! It wore a cap of "hempen stuff and sandals of straw, it being customary in the "Yueh region to bury with such articles all parents who have "survived their sons. Wang recoiled in terror, but every receding "movement was a signal for the corpse to rise a little more, and "when he made a few more steps backward, the corpse of a sudden "rose upright. Wang ran away like a madman at the top of his "speed, the corpse at his heels. Right through the door he tore "and up to the garret of the house, closed the door, and bolted it. "Now for the first time he got a little breath. Supposing the corpse "to have gone, he opened the window to take a peep, but at the same "moment it raised its head, and with gestures of delight rushed "in with a bound and thumped the door repeatedly, but finding "it impossible to enter, suddenly gave vent to a loud piteous "cry. At the third shriek the doors flew open, as if by an unseen "hand; the corpse climbed the stairs up to the garret, and Wang "had no other alternative but to take his club and confront it. No "sooner did it reach the landing than the club came down on its "shoulder, scattering over the floor several ingots of silver paper "hanging thereon; the corpse stooped to pick them up; Wang took "this chance, and gave it a push with all his might, so that it "rolled from the top of the stairs. Just at this juncture he heard "the cock crow, and from that moment the corpse remained "motionless and silent. On examining it by the daylight, he found "it lying across the ground, its thigh-bone wounded by the tumble

---

[1] 紹興王生某食餼有年、村中富家延之爲師。因屋宇湫隘、適相距里許有新室求售者。遂買使居。

王周視室內畢、復至門前徙倚。時已夜矣、月色大明見山下爝火熒熒。趨往視之、光出一白木棺中。王念此鬼燐耶色宜碧而燄帶微赤、得無爲金銀氣乎。憶智囊所載有胡人數輩、凶服輿櫬而藁葬城外者、捕人跡之、櫬中皆黃白也、此棺毋乃類是。幸無人可攖而取也。

"it had suffered. He summoned the people, and as they carried the "corpse away to burn it, he heaved a sigh, saying: 'It was my "covetousness that called the corpse upstairs, and it is the cove- "tousness of the corpse that now causes it to be destroyed by fire; "thus, if demons should not be covetous, how much more ought "men not to be so!'" [1].

Corpse-demons do not always content themselves with homicide; many indulge also in theft or robbery. "Two men of Kin-ling "(Nanking), Chang Yü-kuh and Li So-and-so, connected by ties of "friendship, had a trading business together in Kwangtung. Chang, "returning for some reason from the south homewards, was entrusted "by Li with a letter for his family, which as soon as he came home "he went to deliver at its address. On this occasion he saw a coffin "in the hall, and learned that Li's father had in the mean time "died. Wherefore he set out a sacrifice for the soul on the spot, "and performed the customary worship; which the Li family ap- "preciated highly. The widow appeared, and seeing this charming "and elegant youth, not much more than twenty years old, she "placed dainties before him and regaled him well; and as it was "already dark, she offered him lodgings for the night.

"Between his sleeping-place and the coffin was nothing but an "open courtyard. At the second night-drum he saw by the bright

---

[1] 遂取石塊擊去其釘、從棺後推卸其蓋、則赫然一屍、面青紫而腹膨。亨麻冠草履、越俗凡父母在堂而子先亡者例以此殮。王愕然退縮、每一縮則屍一躍、再縮而屍蹶然起。王盡力狂奔、屍自後追之。王入戶登樓、閉門下鍵。喘息甫定。疑屍已去開窗視之、窗啓而屍昂首、大喜從外躍入、連扣門、不得入忽大聲悲呼。三呼而諸門洞開若有啟之者、遂登樓、王無奈何持木棍待之。屍甫上卽擊以棍中其肩、所掛銀錠散落于地、屍俯而拾取、王趁其傴僂時盡力推之、屍滾樓下。旋聞雞啼、從此寂無聲響矣。明日視之、屍跌傷腿骨橫臥于地。遂召衆人、扛而焚之、王嘆曰、我以貪故招屍上樓、屍以貪故被人燒燬、鬼尙不可貪而況于人乎. *Tsze puh yu*, ch. 13.

"moonlight Li's widow come out of the female apartments and "peep through the crevice of his window. He started, and deeming "feminine decency inconsistent with such behaviour, resolved to "repel her forthwith should she open the door and enter. At "this juncture it struck him that the woman, with an incense-"stick in her hand, turned to her husband's soul-altar and mut-"tered something there as if she expostulated, upon which she "returned to Chang's room, put off her waistband, bound the "upper iron rings of the door with it, and retired at a slow pace. "Chang's fright and suspicion were increased so much by all this "that he lacked courage to go to bed. Suddenly he heard from "the place where the coffin stood a creaking noise; off fell the lid, "and up sat a man with a pitch-black face. He had sunken eyes "with green pupils emitting flashes of light; he was of an extra-"ordinary ferocity and hideousness. With long strides he ran out of "the apartment, straightway for Chang's room. There he uttered "a shrill spectral whistling, on which a cold blast of wind got up "at the four sides, and the waistband on the door snapped into "fragments. With all his might Chang pushed back the door, but "he was overpowered, and the corpse jumped in [1].

---

[1] 金陵張愚谷與李某交好、同買貨廣東。張有事南歸、李託帶家信、張歸後寄信李家。見有棺在堂、知李父亡矣。爲設祭行禮、李家德之。其妻出、見年纔二十餘、貌頗妍雅、設饌款張、時天晚矣、留張宿其家。

宿處與停棺之所隔一天井。至夜二鼓月色大明、見李妻從內出、在牕縫中相窺。張愕然以爲男女嫌疑之際不應如此、倘推門而入當正色拒之。旋見此婦手持一炷香、向其翁靈前、喃喃然若有所訴、訴畢仍至張所住處、將腰帶解下、緊縛其上鐵環、徐徐步去。張愈驚疑、不敢上牀就寢。忽聞停棺之所豁然有聲、則棺蓋落地、坐起一人、面色深黑。兩眼凹陷、中有綠睛閃閃、獰惡異常。大步走出、直奔張所。作鬼嘯一聲、陰風四起、門上所縛帶登時寸斷。張竭力攔門、力竟不敵、尸一衝而入。

"Fortunately there stood beside the door a large wooden cup-"board; Chang pushed it against the corpse, so that it capsized "and the corpse fell underneath it, but at the same moment Chang "swooned away. The incident had not escaped the attention of Li's "wife. She and the family ran in with torches and lights, and "poured some ginger-water into Chang's mouth to restore him to "his senses, and then she spoke to him: 'This is my husband; "his life having been far from correct, he has become a corpse-"demon, breaking out now to work evil. He was much bent on "wealth. Last night he appeared to me in a dream, and announced "to me the arrival of one Chang with a letter; 'this man', he "said, 'has two hundred coins in his girdle; I will kill him, take "half the amount in my coffin, and give you the rest for the "household'. I took this all for a bad dream and put no belief in "it, but there! you did indeed arrive and put up here for the "night. So I burned incense before the corpse, praying, conjuring, "and exhorting it not to give rein to its wicked purpose; yet "fearing that it might push open the door and kill you, I tied "the rings of the door with my waistband, having no idea that "he would exert such tremendous force'. They bore the corpse "back into the coffin, and Chang advised the woman to burn "it, the sooner the better, so as to cut short its evil works once "for all. 'I have long been thinking to do so', the woman "replied, 'but as he is my husband, I could not find it in my "heart; now, however, I cannot help complying with the prevailing "custom'. Chang assisted her in defraying the expenses of an "altar, to which they called some Buddhist priests of repute to "bring about his translation into a better condition; and they "cremated his corpse; and not till then did the family live in "peace and quiet" [1].

---

[1] 幸其旁有大木廚一口、張推廚攔尸、廚倒正墮尸身、尸倒在廚下、而張亦昏迷不醒矣。李妻聞變。率家丁持燭奔至、將薑湯灌醒張、而告之曰、此妾翁也、素行不端、死後變作僵尸、嘗出爲祟。性最愛財。前夜託夢於我曰、將有寄信人張某來我家、身帶二百金、我將害其身而取之、以一半置我棺中、以一半賜汝家用。妾以爲妖夢、不信其語、不料君果來宿於此。我故焚香禱

These tales amply suffice to teach us how extremely ferocious corpse-spectres are. Even powerful gods do not always come off uninjured when they interfere between those demons and their victims. "In Suh-chen", for example, "one Li Kiu, who earned a "living as an itinerant cloth-merchant, crossed the Hoh mountains, "where the approaching night and the crowded inns compelled "him to put up in a Buddhist temple. The waterclock had sunk "to the second drum-watch (11 P. M.), and he was in a sound sleep, "when he saw in his dream the god Wei-t'o [1], who smote him on "the back, exclaiming: 'rise, rise! be quick, be quick, a great "danger is near; take shelter behind me and save yourself'. Li "awoke with a shudder, and leaping to his feet, perceived that a "coffin, stored away behind his couch, was giving forth creaking "sounds. And out came a corpse, covered all over with white hairs, "as if it wore a robe of silvery rat-skins inside out. Its face too "was overgrown with such hairs; its eyes were deep and black, "and had green eye-balls emitting glaring rays. Straightway this "monster made for Li, in order to attack him; but he rushed up "the shrine containing the Buddhist images, and cowered down "behind Wei-t'o's back. The corpse threw its arms around this idol, "and set its teeth into it so fiercely that it cracked; Li shouted "for help at the top of his voice, and all the monks hurried out "of their beds to the rescue with clubs and flaming torches; the "corpse fled, and ran into its coffin, which they found thereupon "close as before. Next morning they examined whether Wei-t'o "had suffered damage from the corpse-spectre, and they found his "club in three pieces, thus showing how great the force and the "ferocity of that being were. The monks sent the news to the "magistrate, who burned the coffin; and Li, filled with gratitude

---

祝勸其勿萌惡念、怕他推門害君故以帶縛住門環、而不料鬼力如是之大也。乃與家丁扛其尸入棺、張勸作速火化以斷其妖。曰、久有此意、以翁故於心不忍、今不得不從俗矣。張助以作道場之費、召名僧爲超度而焚之、其家始安.

*Tszĕ puh yŭ*, supplement, ch. 6.

1 A warlike defender of the Buddhist Church. His image, clad in armour, stands in praying attitude, armed with a club, in the court of almost every Buddhist temple or convent, behind the main entrance, right opposite the central chapel containing the principal Buddhas to whom the edifice is dedicated. His image is also to be seen very often on the altar of these saints, on their left side.

"towards Wei-t'o for his help, caused a new image to be made for "him, neatly gilded" [1].

The name under which corpse-spectres mostly appear in books, is kiang shi [2], "corpses lying flat or rigid". A very common term is also shi kwai [3], "apparitions of corpses" or "corpse-spectres". We have seen (Book I, pp. 106 *seq.*) that they greatly occupy credulous and superstitious minds in Amoy; we may recollect that there and in the surrounding country they are deemed to be produced by the sun or the moon shining on encoffined human remains still unburied. This idea involves nothing strange when we remember that the light and warmth of the universe constitute universal vitality. We have stated also (Book I, page 127) that the dead are especially prone to become kiang shi when a long postponement of their burial inspires them with bitter rancour: a powerful warning to the living to not unduly delay burials. The fact that, nevertheless, the empire is actually studded with unburied human remains, on the other hand greatly nourishes the inveterate belief in those spectres.

There seem to be parts of China where, merely for fear of kiang shi, the natural decay of corpses is accelerated on purpose by exposing them in the open air. We infer this from the following note of Sui Yuen: "West from Fung-siang (in Shensi pr.), common "people who die are not buried immediately, but in many cases "exposed in the open air until the blood and flesh have entirely

---

[1] 宿州李九者販布爲生、路過霍山天晚客店滿矣、不得已宿佛廟中。漏下二鼓睡已熟、夢韋馱神撫其背曰、急起、急起、大難至矣、躲我身後可以救你。李驚醒、踉蹌而起、見床後層棺索然有聲。走出一屍、遍身白毛如反穿銀鼠套者。面上皆滿、兩眼深黑、中有綠睛光閃閃然。直來撲李、李奔上佛櫃、躲韋馱神背後。僵屍伸兩臂抱韋馱神、而口咬之嗒嗒有聲。李大呼、羣僧皆起、持棍點火把來、僵尸逃入棺中、棺合如故。次日見韋馱神被僵尸損壞、所持杵折爲三段、方知僵屍力猛如此。羣僧報官、焚其棺、李感韋馱之恩爲塑像裝金焉. *Tsze puh yü*, ch. 22.

[2] 殭屍 or 僵屍. [3] 屍怪.

"decayed; after this process is finished, they perform the burial, "otherwise, it is said, the dead will give rise to evil (hiung). If "burial takes place before decomposition, and the corpse obtains "breath from the earth, it will after three months be overgrown "entirely with hairs; if these are white, it is called a white evil, "and if they are black, a black evil. It then enters houses to cause "calamity" [1].

We have now to pay attention to yet another point, also touched upon already in this work (Book I, p. 106): kiang shi are anthropophagous and prey on human blood. They are therefore correlated with east-European vampires, or living corpses which break forth from their tombs and attack the living to satiate their cravings for human flesh and blood. Tales about blood-sucking kiang shi have not been found by us in Chinese literature anterior to the eighteenth century, the *Tszĕ puh yü* being for the present the only work we know that has them [2].

"When Tsiang, Governor of Ying-cheu, resided in Ngan-cheu, in "the province of Pehchihli, he met with a man who nervously "moved both his arms continuously as if he swung bells. On being "asked why he did so, he told the following tale:

"My family lives in the village So-and-so, which consists of not "more than a few dozen houses. There a kiang shi came from "the hills soaring through the air, to devour the infants of the "people. Though daily at sunset the people exhorted each other "to shut their doors and conceal their children, nevertheless it "occurred from time to time that some were kidnapped by the "monster. The villagers sounded its grave, but they could not find "the bottom of it, so that nobody ventured to take any measures "against it.

"At that time we heard that there was living in the town a "Taoist doctor So-and-so, proficient in magic arts. We collected money

---

[1] 鳳翔以西其俗人死不卽葬、多暴露之、俟其血肉化盡、然後葬埋、否則有發凶之說。屍未消化而葬者、一得地氣、三月之後遍體生毛、白者號白凶、黑者號黑凶。便入人家爲孽. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 2.

2 Is this coincident with the vampire-panic (the first known in Europe?) which infested Poland and Polish Russia in the last years of the seventeenth century, spreading rapidly over Bulgaria and Servia, and occupying the minds of scholars and theologians of Europe in the first quarter of the next?

"and presents for him, and went to ask him to arrest that spectre.
"He assented, and appeared in our village on an auspicious day.
"He put up an altar for the performance of his magic, and said
"to the people: 'My magic enables me to spread a net over the
"sky and a net over the earth, preventing that demon from flying
"away, but you must help me with your weapons; besides I want
"a man of much courage to enter that grave'. Nobody in the
"crowd ventured to present himself for this task, except myself,
"who stepped to the front, and asked for what he would employ
"me. 'Corpse-spectres', the magician replied, 'generally fear very
"much the sound of jingles and hand-gongs; when the night comes,
"you must watch the moment when the spectre flies out, and
"forthwith enter the grave with two big bells; but do not stop
"ringing them, for a short pause will suffice for the corpse to
"enter the grave, and you will then be the sufferer'.

"The waterclock just began to sink, when the doctor mounted
"his altar to perform his magic. And I, with two bells, watched
"the moment when the corpse flew out. Then with all their might
"and main my arms waved up and down in a quick succession
"like rain-drops, and I dared not pause for one short moment, as
"the spectre was at the entrance of the grave. Horribly ferocious
"it looked; its furious glances never turned away from me while
"the sound of the bells kept it running about the spot without
"courage to enter. Beset by the crowd everywhere in front, there
"was no way of escape for it; so with impetuous movements of its
"hands and with outstretched arms it fought the villagers, until
"the first blush of dawn cast it flat on the ground. Our men then
"took it up and burned it. Meanwhile I remained in the grave,
"ignorant of the issue, swinging the bells incessantly, as I lacked
"courage to stop them. It was towards noon when the crowd
"came and called me out with loud cries; both my arms then
"remained in constant motion, and they have been diseased like this
"to this day"[1].

---

[1] 潁州蔣太守在直隸安州遇一老翁、兩手時時顫動作搖鈴狀。叩其故、曰、

余家住某村、村居僅數十戶。山中出一僵尸、能飛行空中、食人小兒。每日未落晷相戒閉戶匿兒、猶往往被攫。村人探其穴、深不可測、無敢犯者。

— "Liu N.N., a literary graduate of the lowest degree in Wu-kiang "(in Kiangsu), was in charge of some pupils belonging to the Tsiang "family in the Yuen-hwo district. In the season of Pure Brightness "(B. I, p. 968) he returned home, some holidays being granted him "to sweep his ancestral tombs. This duty performed, he would return "to his post, and said to his wife: 'to morrow I must go; cook "some food for me at an early hour'. The woman said she would "do so, and rose for the purpose at cock-crow. Their village lay "on the hill behind their dwelling, facing a brook. The wife washed "some rice at that brook, picked some vegetables in the garden, "and had everything ready, but when it was light her husband "did not rise. She went into his room to wake him up, but how-"ever often she called, he gave no answer. So she opened the "curtains, and found him lying across the bed, headless, and not "a trace of blood to be seen [1].

---

聞城中某道士有法術。因糾積金帛、往求捉怪。道士許諾、擇日至村中。設立法壇、謂衆人曰、我法能布天羅地網、使不得飛去、亦須尔輩持兵械相助、尤需一膽大人入其穴。衆人莫敢對、余應聲而出、問何差遣。法師曰、凡僵尸最怕鈴鐺聲、尔到夜間伺其飛出卽入穴中、持兩大鈴、搖之手不可住、若稍歇則尸入穴、尔受傷矣。漏將下法師登壇作法。余因握雙鈴候尸飛出。儘力亂搖手如雨點、不敢小住、屍到穴門。果猙獰、怒視、聞鈴聲琅琅逡巡不敢入。前面被人圍住又無逃處、乃奮手張臂與村人格鬬、至天將明仆地而倒。衆舉火焚之。余時在穴中未知也、猶搖鈴不敢停如故。至日中衆大呼余始出、而兩手動搖不止、遂至今成疾云. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch.12.

[1] 吳江劉秀才某授徒於元和縣蔣家。清明時假歸掃墓。事畢將復進館、謂妻曰、予來日往、汝須早些作炊。婦如言、雞鳴起身料理。劉鄉居其屋背山面河。婦淅米於河、擷蔬於圃、事事齊備、天已明而夫不起。入室催促、頻呼不應。揭帳視之、見其夫橫臥床上、頸上無頭、又無血跡。

"Terror-stricken she called the neighbours. All of them suspected "her of adultery with a lover and murder, and they warned the "magistrate. This grandee came and held a preliminary inquest; "he ordered the corpse to be coffined for the time being, had the "woman put into fetters and examined her, but this brought no "evidence against her; so he put her in gaol, and many months passed "away without sentence being pronounced. Then a neighbour going "up-hill for some fuel, saw a neglected grave with a coffin laid bare; "it was quite a sound coffin, strong and solid, and yet the lid "was raised a little; so he naturally suspected that it had been "opened by thieves. He summoned the people; they lifted the lid "off, and saw a corpse with features like a living person and a "body covered with white hair. Between its arms it held the head "of a man, which they recognized as that of Liu, the graduate. "They reported the case to the magistrate; the coroners ordered "the head to be taken away, but it was so firmly grasped in the "arms of the corpse that the combined efforts of a number of "men proved insufficient to draw it out. So the mandarin told "them to chop off the arms of the kiang shi. Fresh blood gushed "out of the wounds, but in Liu's head there was not one drop "left, it having been sucked dry by the monster. By magisterial "order the corpse was burned, and the case ended with the release "of the woman from gaol" [1].

It may be noticed, that in Europe too it was a prevalent opinion that the best means to deal with vampires was to destroy them by fire. But the Chinese have yet other means of disabling those monsters. They argue, that if the lid of the coffin be removed as

---

[1] 大駭呼鄰里來看。皆疑婦有姦殺夫、鳴之官。官至檢驗、命暫收殮、拘婦拷訊、卒無實情、置婦獄中、累月不決。後鄰人上山採樵、見廢塚中有棺暴露、棺木完固而棺蓋微啓、疑爲人竊發。呼衆、啟視其尸面色如生、白毛徧體。兩手抱一人頭、審視識爲劉秀才。乃訴官、驗尸官命取首、首爲尸手緊捧、數人之力挽不能開。官命斧斫僵尸之臂。鮮血淋漓、而劉某之頭反無血矣、蓋盡爲僵尸所吸也。官命焚其尸、出婦獄中、案乃結. *Tsze puh yu*, supplement, ch. 2.

soon as the devil is out, its evil works will be over for good; in truth, as the air will then enter freely into the coffin, its contents will immediately decay, and thus lose their strength. "A "certain gentleman, strong and robust, sojourning in Hukwang, "lodged there quite alone in an old Buddhist temple. One night he "was strolling by very fine moonlight outside the gate, and saw "in the grove a being with hazy form, wearing a kerchief after the "T'ang fashion, and moving so lightly towards him that he could "not but take it for a ghost. As it turned to the darkest part of "a pine-copse and there entered an old grave, he was fully con- "vinced that it was a kiang shi.

"He had heard that such a demon can do no evil when it misses "the lid of its coffin. So next night he concealed himself in the "grove, to watch its departure and take the lid away. The second "watch ended (after 11 P.M.), the corpse came forth indeed, as if "for an assignation. He followed it to the gate of a large house, "in the garret of which a woman in red had thrown out a white "rope from the window, wherewith to draw him up; the spectre "seized it and climbed up it, and they engaged in a long con- "versation without making any peculiar noise.

"Our hero's first act now was to retrace his steps and steal the "lid from the coffin. Having concealed it well, he hid himself again "in the deepest part of the pine-grove. Night was about to depart, "when the corpse returned hurriedly. Seeing the lid gone, it showed "great consternation. It searched for it everywhere, and then ran "off by the same road by which it had come. Again our hero "followed it. At the storeyed building he witnessed the bounds "and leaps of the corpse, and how it gave vent to chattering cries,

---

[1] 有壯士某客于湖廣、獨居古寺。一夕月色甚佳散步門外、見樹林中隱隱有戴唐巾飄然來者、疑其爲鬼。旋至松林最密中入一古墓、心知爲僵尸。

素聞僵尸失棺上蓋便不能作祟。次夜先匿于樹林中、伺尸出、將竊取其蓋。二更後尸果出、似有所往。尾之至一大宅門外、其上樓窗中先有紅衣婦人擲下白索一條牽引之、尸攀援而上、作絮語、聲不甚了了。

"answered by the chattering of the woman in the garret. She "just motioned him off with her hand, as if to signal to him to "come back no more, when on a sudden the crowing of the cock "was heard, and the corpse fell down flat on the roadside. In the "early morning-hour the passers-by gathered to the spot, and all "without exception were greatly frightened. They hurried to the "storeyed building to satisfy their curiosity: this was the ancestral "temple of the Cheu family, where a coffin was kept unburied "in the garret, and outside that coffin a female kiang shi was "lying. The facts convinced everybody that they had to do with "a curious case of irregular commerce between such demons; where-"fore they laid them side by side, and burnt them" [1].

Another effectful and very easy expedient for getting rid of visitations from corpses, is to watch any suspected coffin until the corpse has quitted it, and then strew rice, red peas, and bits of iron around it. The corpse on returning will find it impossible to pass over those things, and will soon be found stiff and dead on the ground; it may then be burned without any danger, even, if desirable, together with the coffin. The only difficulty is to find a man brave enough for the dangerous part of the enterprise.

It is, according to the Chinese, by no means a rare thing in their country for corpses to sit up on their death-bed and strike terror and fright into the hearts of their mourning kinsfolk. We touched on this point already on page 43 of Book I, adding that a pole, a piece of furniture, or some household utensil, especially a broom, is then required to restore the corpse to its recumbent position, while care must be taken to prevent cats from touching it. It is related, that "Liu I-hien was an able portrait-painter in "Hang-cheu. For neighbours he had a father with his son, living "in the same house. The father died, and the son, going out to

---

[1] 壯士先回竊其棺蓋。藏之仍伏于松深處。夜將闌尸恩恩還。見棺失蓋窘甚。徧覓良久、仍從原路踉蹌奔去。再尾之。至樓下且躍且鳴嗴嗴有聲、樓上婦亦相對嗴嗴。以手搖拒、似訝其不應再至者、雞忽鳴、尸倒于路側。明早行人盡至、各大駭。同往樓下訪之、乃周姓祠堂樓停一柩、有女僵尸亦臥于棺外。衆人知爲僵尸野合之怪、乃合尸於一處而焚之. *Tsze puh yu*, ch. 12.

"buy a coffin, asked I-hien through another neighbour to make "in the mean time a portrait of the father. The painter went to "the house, where to his great regret he found nobody; and sup- "posing the corpse to be lying upstairs, he walked up the ladder, "sat down at the bedside, and drew forth his brushes.

"On a sudden the corpse rose with a start. It flashed through "I-hien that he might have to do with a 'running corpse', and he "remained therefore quietly seated, motionless. The corpse too did "not stir, but with its eyes closed opened and shut its jaws con- "tinuously, only wrinkling its brows at each such movement. If I "run away, said the painter to himself, the corpse is sure to pursue "me; the best thing will be to quietly do my work to the end. "And he took his brushes, laid out his paper, and made a sketch "of the corpse, during which it aped every movement of his arms "and fingers. Meanwhile he cried aloud at the top of his voice, but "nobody answered. Suddenly the son came up the ladder. Seeing "his father in a sitting posture, he fell to the floor in terror, and "a neighbour who arrived after him was so horrified at the resurrected "corpse, that he tumbled off the landing. I-hien, in the greatest "consternation, had to screw up all his courage to remain where "he was, until the porters arrived with the coffin. Remembering "that corpses, when in a running state, are afraid of brooms, "he cried: 'bring a broom!' and the coffin-bearers understood from "these words that they had to do with a 'running corpse'. They "seized a broom, mounted the stairs, and broomed the corpse into "its former position; they also brought the man on the floor back "to consciousness by pouring an essence of ginger down his throat, "and coffined the corpse" [1].

---

[1] 杭州劉以賢善寫照。隣人有一子一父而居室者。其父死、子外出買棺、囑隣人代請以賢爲其父傳形。以賢往入其室、慮無人焉、意死者必居樓上、乃躡梯登樓、就死人之床坐而抽筆。

尸忽蹶然起。以賢知爲走尸、坐而不動。尸亦不動、但閉目張口翕翕然、眉撐肉皺而已。以賢念身走則尸必追、不如竟畫。乃取筆申紙、依屍樣描摹、每臂動指運尸亦如之。以賢大呼、無人答應。俄而其子上樓。見父屍起、驚而仆、又一隣上樓、見尸起亦驚滾落樓下。以賢窘甚、强忍

Even when one is already in a kiang shi's murderous embrace, there are effectual means to release him. "Ere Yin Ming-fu, named "Pei-lien, entered the Government service, he lodged somewhere in "Honan. There, according to him, coffins were kept in sheds outside "the towns in numbers so great, that seizures of men by kiang shi "were of common occurrence. But the rural population had an "expedient against them, not so very curious: when some one "was clasped by a corpse in its arms and held by it in a most "firm embrace, so that even when the arms were cut off, the claws "still stuck in the flesh and could not be extracted, then they "drove seven jujube stones into the backbone of the corpse, with "the result that its arms relaxed their hold. They applied this "method on several occasions, always finding it efficacious. A corpse "running about shortly after death they called a running shadow; "it thus wanders under the impulse of yang breath. If a man "is embraced by such a demon, this is to be treated in the above-"mentioned way" [1].

Chinese, theorizing on the subject of corpse-spectres, admit that in general these are under the dominion of their p'oh or that one of the two souls which is identified with the earth, to which it returns with the corpse (cf. page 5). Now as the p'oh is the grosser, the unintellectual soul, those spectres and their doings are not ruled by intelligence, virtue or propriety, but they rage madly without self-control, even against those who never did them any wrong. Nevertheless their actions may be regulated in some degree by their good genius, their hwun, because it is this soul which

---

待之、俄而檯棺者來。以賢徐記尸走畏茗帚、乃呼曰、汝等持茗帚來、檯棺者心知有走尸之事。持帚上樓、拂之倒、乃取薑湯灌醒仆者、而納尸入棺. *Tszĕ puh yū*, ch. 5.

[1] 尤明府佩蓮未達時曾客河南。言其地棺多野厝、常有僵尸挾人之患。土人有法治、亦不之異、凡有被屍挾者把握至緊、雖兩手斷裂爪甲入人膚、終不可脫、用棗核七個釘入屍脊背穴上、手隨鬆出。屢試輒效。如新死屍舁名曰走影、乃感陽氣觸動而然。人有被挾亦可以此法治之. *Tszĕ puh yū*, supplement, ch. 8.

brings about their revival; on this ground they may behave as friendly spectres, however without their dangerous character being entirely suppressed, for the p'oh may at any moment resume its paramount influence. The following tale illustrates these theories:

"In the Nan-ch'ang district, in the province of Kiangsi, two gentlemen, the one of middle age and the other young, were studying in the convent of the Northern Orchid, and lived on terms of the closest friendship. The older one went home, and died there suddenly, while the other, ignorant of this calamity, quietly continued his studies in the convent. One day, as it grew dark, he was slumbering, and saw his friend open the gate and enter. Seating himself on the couch, he patted him on his back, saying: 'Hardly ten days after I took my leave of you, I died suddenly, and now I am a ghost, which, unable to banish its feelings of friendship, comes to bid you farewell'. The young man made an effort to cry for help, but he could not utter a word; on which the other soothed him. 'Should I harbour any desire to harm you', he said, 'I should, indeed, not speak so unaffectedly; do not be afraid; I have come to entrust to you some of my affairs after my death'. Thus re-assured a little, the young man asked him what these were. 'In the first place', was the reply, 'I have an old mother, now upwards of seventy years, and a wife who is not yet thirty; a few bushels of rice will suffice to feed them; I hope you will take care of them in every way. Further I possess an unedited manuscript; please have it printed, lest the little repute I have gained should perish. And in the third place, I have an undischarged debt of a few thousand coins to the merchant of writing-brushes; pay this off'. The young one promised to fulfil those wishes. Then the dead man rose, and with the words: 'having thus given you those charges, I can depart' he was about to go, when the young man, whose fears had all vanished on hearing him speak so exactly in the tone and the way of an ordinary man, and seeing his features so like those he had while alive, detained him with tears. 'We are going to separate for so long a time', he said, 'why do not you stay a little longer, why do you go so soon?' and the dead too burst into tears, and sat down on the bed again. For a while they indulged in conversation about the concerns of life, till he rose a second time, with the words: 'now I am going away'.

"He stood up, but did not go. He gazed hard at him, and became so hideous that the young man, whose fears returned, motioned to

"him to go; 'now you have had your say, go!' said he; but the corpse "remained, and did not even depart when the other, thumping on "the couch, set up a loud cry. In a bold erect attitude the corpse "remained where it was, and fright overcame the young student "so thoroughly that he jumped up and took to his heels. The "corpse pursued him; faster he ran, but just as close the corpse "followed him, till after a number of miles he scaled a wall, and "fell flat to the ground on the other side. This obstacle the corpse "could not surmount; it stretched out its neck over it, and froth "and saliva dribbled down from its mouth on the young man's "face. In the morning-light wayfarers came by and gave the young "man some ginger-essence to drink; and just as he was coming "round the owners of the corpse arrived to seek it. So nothing "being told them of the incident, they took it home, and com-"pleted the coffining.

"Experts in such matters then declared: The h w u n of man is "good and is his spiritual power and wisdom (l i n g), but his p'o h "is bad and stupidly inconsiderate. When this corpse appeared (at "the bedside), the spiritual wisdom had not yet vanished from it, "but the p'o h accompanied the h w u n on this excursion, and no "sooner had the h w u n departed than the affection (cherished "towards the student) was finished. The h w u n totally dispersed, "and the p'o h remained in the corpse; as long as the h w u n "was present in the corpse, this was the very man himself, but as "soon as it was gone, the corpse was the man no more. Corpses "wandering about in this world, and 'running shadows' are all "produced by the p'o h; only men who possess the T a o can "dominate this soul"[1].

---

[1] 江西南昌縣有士人某讀書北蘭寺、一長一少、甚相友善。長者歸家暴卒、少者不知也、在寺讀書如故。天晚睡矣、見長者披閽入。登床撫其背曰、吾別兄不十日竟以暴疾亡、今我鬼也、朋友之情不能自割、特來訣別。少者陰喝不能言、死者慰之。曰、我欲害兄豈肯直告、兄慎勿怖、吾之所以來此者欲以身後相托也。少者心稍定、問托何事。曰、吾有老母年七十餘、妻年未三十、得數斛米足以養生、願兄周恤之、此其

A corpse-spectre is described to us by the following tale actually helping a man out of a dreadful emergency: "Tso, a literary "graduate of the lowest degree in T'ung-ch'ing, lived in the greatest "harmony of conjugal fidelity with his wife, a woman of the "Chang tribe. She fell sick and died, and Tso, unable to part "with her remains, lay beside the coffin for whole days. On the "15th of the seventh month his family organized an Ulamba "meeting (for the feeding of the souls and their redemption from "hell). Every one was abroad arranging the mass in honour of the "Buddhas, and the graduate sat quite by himself by his wife's "coffin over a book, when with a sudden blast of cold wind the "ghost of a hanged man appeared, its hair dishevelled, blood "trickling from its body, and the cord trailing behind it. Straight-"way it made for the graduate to attack him. In his terror he "thumped hastily at the coffin, exclaiming: 'to the rescue, dear "wife!' and on a sudden the woman pushed up the lid and lifted

---

一也。吾有文稿未梓、願兄爲鐫刻、俾微名不泯、此其二也。吾欠賣筆者錢數千、未經償還、願兄償之、此其三也。少者唯唯。死者起立曰、既承兄擔承吾亦去矣、言畢欲走、少者見其言近人情、貌如平昔、漸無怖意、乃泣留之。曰、與君長訣、何不稍緩、須臾去耶、死者亦泣回坐其床。更敘平生數語、復起曰、吾去矣。

立而不行。兩眼瞠視、貌漸醜敗、少者懼促之、曰、君言既畢可去矣、屍竟不去、少者拍床大呼。亦不去。屹立如故、少者愈駭起而奔。屍隨之奔、少者奔愈急、屍奔亦急、追逐數里少者踰墻仆地。屍不能踰墻而垂首墻外、口中涎沫與少者之面相滴涔涔也。天明路人過之飲以薑汁、少者蘇、屍主家方覓屍。不得聞信、舁歸成殯。

識者曰、人之魂善而魄惡、人之魂靈而魄愚。其始來也一靈不泯、魄附魂以行、其既去也心事既畢。魂一散而魄滯、魂在則其人也、魂去則非其人也。世之移屍走影皆魄爲之、惟有道之人爲能制魄. *Tsze puh yü*, ch. 1.

"herself up. 'Thou bad devil', she thundered forth, 'dost thou "thus attack my goodman without any respect!' and brandishing "her arms, she dealt it such sound blows that it hobbled away "out of the house. Now she turned to the graduate: 'You idiot, "you have incurred all this by our ardent conjugal love, but your "felicity is so slight that evil spirits do not shrink from harming "you; come along to my home; shuffle off your mortal coil, and "let us plan again a life of concord, to last until our old age'. "The graduate assented, on which the woman returned into the "coffin. He called his family, who found the rows of nails all snap- "ped, and half a breadth of the woman's petticoat caught under "the lid. Ere that year had passed away, the graduate also died" [1].

Corpses may have yet other reasons for rising from their death-beds and haunting the living. Cases are mentioned, and believed by everybody, of murdered persons thus temporarily returning to life in order to denounce their murderers and cause them to be punished, superstition thus being here a good deterrent of homicidal crime. "In Si-hiang, in Shang-cheu (Kiangsu prov.), "lived a man of the Ku tribe, who being out in the suburb at "sunset asked for a lodging in an old temple. The priest of the "temple said: 'To-night I have to perform a funeral service for "a family; my disciples have all gone thither, and there will be "nobody in the temple; take care of it for me'. Ku assented; "he closed the temple-door, blew out the lamp, and laid himself "down to sleep.

---

[1] 桐城左秀才某與其妻張氏伉儷甚篤。張病卒、左不忍相離、終日伴棺而寢。七月十五日其家作盂蘭之會。家人俱在外禮佛設醮、秀才獨伴妻棺看書、忽陰風一陣有縊死鬼、披髮流血、拖繩而至。直犯秀才。秀才惶急拍棺、呼曰、妹妹救我、其妻竟勃然掀棺而起。罵曰、惡鬼敢無禮犯我郎君耶、揮臂打鬼、鬼踉蹌逃出。妻謂秀才、汝癡矣、夫婦鍾情一至于是耶、緣汝福薄故惡鬼敢于相犯、盍同我歸、去投人身、再作偕老計耶。秀才唯唯、妻仍入棺臥矣。秀才呼家人視之、棺釘數重皆斷、妻之裙猶夾半幅于棺縫中也。不踰年秀才亦卒. *Tsze puh yü*, ch. 16.

"At the third watch a man knocked at the door very boisterously. "Ku cried: 'who are you?' and a voice outside answered: 'I am "Ch'en Ting-lan'. Ch'en Ting-lan was a comrade of Ku in former "days, who died more than ten years before. Greatly affrighted he "refused to open the door, but the man outside cried: 'do not fear "me, I have some secret to confide to you; if you do not open "without loss of time, I shall become a spectre, and do you think "that I should then be unable to push in the door by myself alone "and enter?' So Ku could not help opening; and the lock gave a "dull noise, as if there fell a man down to the ground [1].

"With hands trembling nervously and eye-lids quivering, Ku "was going to take up a candle, when suddenly there sounded "a loud voice from the ground. 'I am not Ch'en Ting-lan', said "it, 'I am N.N., the man who has just died in the house to the "east, poisoned by my principal wife, who is an adulteress; I "told you I was Ch'en Ting-lan because I desire to ask you to "redress the wrong which has been done to me'. 'But I am no "mandarin', said Ku, 'how then shall I redress it?' On which the "spectre answered: 'the very damage inflicted on my corpse bears "witness to it'. 'Where is your corpse?' asked Ku. 'Come here "with the lamp and see it, but when I see the lamp I shall "become unable to speak'. At this exciting moment the voices of "a crowd knocking at the gate were heard. Ku went to let them "in: it was the priests returning to the temple, everybody in con-"sternation, for, said they, 'just as we were reciting our holy "scripts for the burial of the corpse, it mysteriously disappeared, "so that we had to stop and go home'. Now Ku told them what "was the reason of it; they threw light on the corpse with their

---

[1] 常州西鄉有顧姓者、日暮郊行、借宿古廟。廟僧曰、今晚爲某家送殮、生徒盡行、廟中無人、君爲我看廟。顧允之、爲閉廟門、吹燈臥。

至三鼓有人撞門、聲甚厲。顧喝問何人。外應曰、沈定蘭也。沈定蘭者顧之舊交、已死十年之人也。顧大怖、不肯開門、外大呼曰、爾無怖、我有事托君、若遲遲不開我既爲鬼、獨不能衝門而進乎。顧不得已爲啟、其鑰砉然有聲如人墮地。

"torches, and saw blood flowing out of the seven openings of its "face all around over the ground. The next day they reported the "incident to the authorities, who avenged the victim" [1].

The ideas about corpse-spectres, unfolded in the above pages, being expressed in writing are no doubt those of the intellectual generally, just as well as of the vulgar class. Authors also display their firm belief in such spectres by applying to them some abstruse Yin-and-Yang philosophy, for, in fact, those beings, like everything in the Universe, are created by these two powers; but we need not follow them in this nonsense. According to the author of the *Tszĕ puh yü*, we have to distinguish sharply corpse-spectres from three other sorts of corpses. "There are in the ground wandering "corpses, hidden corpses, and unchanging bones, altogether coffin-"less and without outer garments. The first-named change place in "the ground according to the (twenty-four) seasons, by lunar influence. "The hidden corpses have always lain hidden in the ground un-"decayed for a thousand years. And unchanging bones are those "of a part of the body which was specially imbued with vitality "during life; when the bones are buried, the coffin with the "clothes will decay, and the body with the skeleton become "clay, but only the bones of that part will not change. They "are as black as sonorous jet; when long under the influence of "the vitality of the sun or the moon, they also acquire the "capacity of working evil. Of dead rice-porters the shoulder-blades "will rot away last of all, and of dead car-men the thigh-bones, "for by the strength they exerted during their lives vitality "gathered in those bones, so that the latter are not liable to "an easy decay in the ground. So also it is with the hidden

---

[1] 顧手忙眼顫、意欲舉燭、忽地上又大呼。曰、我非沈定蘭也、我乃東家新死者某、被奸婦毒死故托名沈定蘭求汝伸冤。顧曰、我非官府、冤何能申。鬼曰、屍傷可驗。問屍在何處。曰、燈至即見、但見燈我便不能言矣。正恩遽間外扣門者人聲甚衆。顧迎出、則緇僧黯廟、各有駭色、曰、正誦經送屍屍隱不見、故各自罷歸。顧告以故、同舉火照屍、有七竅流血者奄然在地。次日同報有司、爲理其冤. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 2.

"corpses; a hidden corpse which after a long time receives vitality, "becomes a wandering corpse, and after a still longer time a flying "Yaksha (p. 466)" [1].

"Kiang shi after a long time become able to fly, and do not "conceal themselves in their coffins any longer. They are then "covered all over with white hairs a foot long, and even longer, "which hang down disorderly, and they give light when they come "out or retire. After a second period of time they become Yakshas "soaring through the sky, which do not die unless thunder strikes "them. The only weapons which can kill them are rifles. The "mountaineers in Fuhkien every now and then have to do with "them, and then call huntsmen to attack them in several places from "the branches of the trees. These beings are very strong, as strong "as bears. They come forth in the night, then grasping men and "injuring field-crops" [2]. "Mr. Yü Ts'ang-shih (or Shih Yü-ts'ang) "says: A kiang shi appearing at night to catch men generally "looks fleshy not unlike living man, but when we open its coffin "in the daytime, it looks as dry and lean as a mummy. Some, "while being burned, make a piping noise" [3].

---

[1] 地中有遊尸、伏尸、不化骨三種、皆無棺木外襲者。遊尸乘月氣應節而移無定所。伏尸則千年不朽常伏地。不化骨乃其人生前精神貫注之處、其骨入地、雖棺朽衣爛、身軀他骨皆化爲土、獨此一處之骨不化。色黑如磬玉、久得日月精氣亦能爲祟。故負米者死、肩骨後朽、輿夫死、腿骨後朽、以其生前用力爲精氣結聚故入土不易朽。伏尸亦然、伏尸久則受精氣爲遊尸、又久而爲飛行夜叉. *Tszě puh yü*, supplement, ch. 5.

[2] 凡僵尸久則能飛、不復藏棺中。遍身毛皆長尺餘、毿毿披垂、出入有光。又久則成飛天夜叉、非雷擊不死。惟鳥槍可斃之。閩中山民每每遇此、則群呼獵者分踞樹杪擊之。此物力大如熊。夜出攫人損稼. *Op. et cap. cit.*

[3] 俞蒼石先生云、凡僵屍夜出攫人者貌多豐腴與生人無異、晝開其棺則枯瘦如人腊矣。焚之有啾啾作聲者. *Tszě puh yü*, ch. 24.

"The lions and elephants on which the Buddhas ride, says "Tsiang Ming-fu of Shang-cheu, are well known to man, but the "wolves (or jackals) which they bestride are unknown. Such wolves "are metamorphosed kiang shi. A certain man walking at night "saw a corpse open its coffin and step out. Conceiving he had "to do with a kiang shi, he waited till it had left the coffin, "which then he filled up with potsherds and stones, retiring "thereupon into the garret of a farm to espy the issue. Towards "the fourth watch (one o'clock A. M.) the corpse returned, striding "with long steps, apparently with something in its arms. Coming "to the coffin and finding it impossible to enter it, it cast wrathful "looks all around, its eyes wide open and emitting a flashing "light. Thus it perceived there was somebody in the garret, and "hurried thither to seek him, but its legs being as stiff as "dead wood, unsuited for ascending a ladder, it removed this "furiously. Our affrighted hero finding it impossible to descend by "the ladder, grasped the branches of a tree, and let himself down "by it, but the kiang shi perceived him and was at his heels. Off "ran the terror-stricken man with all the speed he could muster. "Happily he could swim. It flashed through him that such a corpse "might be unable to enter water; he made his way through the "stream to the other shore, and left the corpse running to and fro "hesitatingly for a while, with spectral cries and piteous howling. "Then with three leaps into the air it transformed itself into a "quadruped, and galopped off. It left something behind on the "ground, which was found to be the corpse of a baby, half gnawed "away and sucked quite dry. Some say that corpses at their "first transformation become devils of drought, and that the next "change makes wolves of them. These beasts possess spiritual intel-"ligence, belch forth smoke and fire, and can fight dragons; hence "it is that the Buddhas ride them to keep them under" [1].

[1] 常州蔣明府言、佛所騎之獅象人所知也、佛所騎之狐人所不知。狐乃僵尸所變。有某夜行、見尸啓棺而出。某知是僵尸、俟其出、取瓦石填滿其棺而已登農家樓上觀之。將至四更尸大踏步歸、手若有所抱持之物。到棺前不得入、張目怒視、其光瞵瞵。見樓上有人遂來尋求、若腿硬如枯木不能登梯、怒而去梯。某懼不得下、乃

Thus in China too vampirism is connected with lycanthropy. If now we recall to our minds the belief, mentioned on page 518, that dead men may become devils of drought, it follows that the latter may appear in a threefold shape, or that there exist three sorts of them. The author of the *Tszĕ puh yü* says indeed: "There "are three species of drought-causing p a h. One are like quadrupeds; "an other kind are transformations of k i a n g s h i, and both these "species are able to produce drought and stop wind and rain. But "the principal, superior drought-demons, called k o h [1], cause still "more damage; they resemble men, but are taller, and have one "eye on the top of the head. They devour dragons, and the Rain-"lords all fear them much, for when they see clouds arise, they "raise their heads and disperse them in all directions by blowing, "the sun thus increasing in intensity. No man can conquer them. "Some say, that when it is Heaven's will that there shall be a "drought, the vapours of the becks condense and become these "demons. When the latter suddenly vanish, it will rain" [2].

As animals, corporally and mentally, are organisms similar to men, it is clear that they too, when undecayed, may become dangerous corpse-spectres. We have seen this belief illustrated by Sui Yuen's tale on pp. 621 *seq.*

---

攀樹枝黃緣而墜、僵尸知而逐之。某窘急。幸平生善泅。心揣尸不能入水、遂渡水而立、尸果躑躅良久作怪聲哀號。三躍三跳化作獸形而去。地下遺物是一孩子尸、被其咀嚼只存半體、血已全枯。或曰尸初變旱魃、再變則爲犻。犻有神通、口吐烟火、能與龍鬬、故佛騎以鎮壓之. *Tszĕ puh yü*, supplement, ch. 3.

1 Or k o h-t s z e, see p. 518.

2 旱魃有三種。一種似獸、一種乃僵尸所變、皆能爲旱止風雨。惟上上旱魃名格、爲害尤甚、似人而長、頭頂有一目。能哭龍、雨師皆畏之、見雲起、仰首吹噓、雲卽散而日愈烈。人不能制。或曰天應旱則山川之氣融結而成。忽然不見則雨. Supplement, ch. 3.

# CHAPTER XI.

## ANTHROPOPHAGOUS AND NECROPHAGOUS SPECTRES.

Apparently the belief in anthropophagous spectres must be old in China, and firmly rooted in the popular mind. Knowing from pp. 364 *sqq.* that the eating of human flesh under certain circumstances has been at all times a rather commonplace thing in that country, it would be, indeed, remarkable if spectres, being generally represented as cruel and ferocious, were thought entirely exempt from such savage tendencies.

We have at the outset to place among the cannibal spectres the living corpses to which we have devoted the preceding chapter, so notorious also for a craving for blood. We have also to mention the man-eating tiger and wolf demons, described in Chapter V. An old reference to anthropophagous spirits we gave on page 521 in an extract from Wei Chao's writings, according to which wang-siang were deemed in his time to be cannibals. We have mentioned on page 574 the "celestial dogs", preying on human livers and blood in the sixth century of our era. In the writings of Twan Ch'ing-shih we read: "In the Ta lih period (766—780), a member "of the gentry, dwelling in a village in Wei-nan (Shensi prov.), "fell sick and died in the Metropolis. His wife, a woman of the "Liu clan, then remained established in that village with her son, "eleven or twelve years old. On a summer-night this boy was "attacked by fits of fear and sleeplessness. When the third watch "had set in (at 11 P.M.), she saw an old man in white, with a "pair of tusks protruding from his jaws. He gazed fixedly upon "her for a time, then he stepped slowly to her couch, in front of "which a female slave lay in a sound sleep, and grasped this woman "by her throat. A gnawing sound was heard: her clothes were "torn off from her by his hands, and he grasped her, and devoured "her in a moment to the bare skeleton, which he finally lifted up "to suck out the five viscera. The woman saw that the old man's "mouth was as big as a sieve. Just then the boy began to cry,

"so that the apparition totally vanished, but the slave was reduced "to mere bones. Several months afterwards elapsed without any- "thing particular coming to pass" [1].

The following tale is stated to have been derived from the writings of the same author:

"In the Ching yuen period (785—805) there lived west of "the Wang-yuen post-house one Wang Shen. With his own hands "he had planted a copse of elms, and put up there some straw "sheds, to distribute rice-water gratuitously to travellers in the "summer-months. He had a son of thirteen years, whom he often "charged with ministering to the visitors.

"One day, the boy told his father that there was a young woman "on the road, who asked for some water. He ordered the boy to "call her in. She was young, and wore a robe of bluish stuff and "a white cap. Her house, she said, stood some ten miles off to the "south; her husband had died childless, and she was wearing "already the dress of the last period of mourning; now she was "going to Ma-wei, to see whether her family still had so much "affection to her that she might apply to them for clothing and food. "She talked so clearly and so cleverly, and behaved so charmingly, "that Wang Shen made her stay in his house and gave her food; "his wife too loved her more and more [2].

---

[1] 大歷中有士人、莊在渭南、遇疾卒於京。妻柳氏因莊居、一子年十一二。夏夜其子忽恐悸不眠。三更後忽見一老人、白衣、兩牙出吻外。熟視之良久、漸近牀前、牀前有婢眠熟、因扼其喉。咬然有聲、衣隨手碎、攫食之、須臾骨露、乃舉起飲其五臟。見老人口大如簸箕。子方叫、一無所見、婢已骨矣。數月後亦無他. *Noh-kao ki*, I.

[2] 貞元中望苑驛西有百姓王申、手植榆於路傍成林、構茅屋數椽、夏月常饋漿水於行人。有兒、年十三、每令伺客。

忽一日白其父路有女子求水。因令呼入。女少年、衣碧襦白幅巾。自言家在此南十餘里、夫死無兒、今服禫矣、將適馬嵬、訪親情丐衣食。言語明悟、舉止可愛、王申乃留飯之、妻尤愛之。

"They then said to her in the course of conversation: 'Sister, you "have no nearest kinsfolk, cannot you become here a bride of our "son?' Smilingly she answered: 'As I have nobody to depend "upon, I desire to do your coarse work and attend to your well "and kitchen'. So Wang Shen procured the wedding clothes and "presents, and she became his son's wife.

"It was hot that night; 'there are many thieves just now', said "she to her husband, 'do not leave the door open'. At midnight "Wang Shen's wife dreamt that her son with disordered hair told "her that he was being devoured almost entirely. The affrighted woman "desired to go and look at her son, but Wang Shen became angry, "and she laid herself down again to sleep. But a second time she "had the same dream. Now both took torches and called the son "and his bride, but no answer was given. They tried to open the "door, but it remained fast as if it were bolted, so that they had "to batter it down. When it flew open, a being with round eyes, "tusks and a bluish body rushed out of it and disappeared. Nothing "was left of their son but some brains, bones, and hair"[1].

That entire hosts of anthropophagous spectres, preying especially upon babies and hearts of men, have in A.D. 781 set whole regions into commotion and panic, we have had occasion to note on page 477. We read, moreover, in the Standard Histories of the Sung dynasty, that "there suddenly appeared in the Süen hwo period (1119—"1126), in the demesnes of Loh-yang-fu, certain beings resembling "men, squatting down sometimes like dogs. They were of a deep "black colour, and their eyebrows and eyes were not clearly visible. "In the beginning they seized babies at night and devoured them,

---

[1] 乃戲曰、妹既無極親、能爲我家作新婦子乎。女笑曰、身既無託願執粗井臲。王申卽日賃衣貲禮爲新婦。

其夕暑熱、戒其夫、近多賊、不可闔門。及夜半王申妻夢其子披髮訴曰、被食將盡矣。驚欲省其子、王申怒之、妻還睡。復夢如初。申與妻秉燭、呼其子及新婦、悉不復應。啟其戶、戶牢如鍵、乃壞門闔。纔開有物圓目鑿齒、體如藍色、衝人而去。其子惟餘腦骨及髮而已. Supplementary *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, quoted in the TS, sect. 神異, ch. 318.

"and later on they invaded the dwellings by broad daylight, to "work mischief. Wherever they appeared, cries and clamour arose, "and quiet was destroyed. They were called 'black folks'. Strong "men armed themselves at night with spears and clubs for "self-defence; some made use of the panic for mischievous pur- "poses, and two years elapsed ere it came to an end" [1].

The existence of cannibals in the demon-world being thus placed beyond all doubt by authoritative books, we cannot but infer that tales about such beings must circulate in great numbers throughout the Empire. Traditions mention *e. g.* so-called land-monks [2], counterparts, probably, of the sea-monks of which we have spoken on page 533; they emerge from time to time from rivers and creeks, especially during inundations, to attack the lonely and the weak and devour their brains. But still more debased than any anthropophagi in the world of spectres are those which push their craving for human flesh to the extent of preying on corpses. The belief in such disgusting demons is evidently old, for we saw (p. 536) that in traditions written down not long after the commencement of the Christian era, goat-shaped ground-demons were represented as devouring the dead in their graves.

Evidence for the prevalence, in times long past, of the belief in necrophagous demons is brought before us by the following text: "In "the Nan-khang district, one Khü King-chi, established in a military "station, was travelling in the first year of the Yuen kia period "of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 424), in the company of his son, in a "canoe from the district city up the stream to one of its remote "sources. The banks were dreary and wild, and extremely steep, and "no human foot had ever been planted there. In the evening father "and son landed and put up in a shed, where King-chi was "'struck by evil', and died suddenly. His son lit a fire and watched "the corpse. Suddenly he heard in the distance cries of 'uncle!' "uttered in a wailing tone. The filial son started, and was asking

---

[1] 宣和中洛陽府畿間忽有物如人、或蹲踞如犬。其色正黑、不辨眉目。始夜則掠小兒食之、後雖白晝入人家爲患。所至喧然不安。謂之黑漢。有力者夜執槍棒自衛、亦有託以作過者、如此二歲乃息. Ch. 62, l. 15.

[2] 山和尙.

"himself what this might be, when in a twinkling quicker than "a nod the being that wailed appeared on the spot. It had the "size of a man, and its hair hung down to its feet, covering also "the greater part of its face, so that its seven apertures could not "be seen. It mentioned its names to the son and condoled with "him, but he remained nervous and affrighted, attended to the "fuel, and kept the fire flaming well. The being, speaking of the "past and the future, condoled with the dead, asserting that he "had nothing to fear; and in a moment as the son was attending "to the fire, it seated itself beside the head of the corpse, and "wailed. By the light of the fire the mourning son watched all "its movements, and saw that the monster, bending over the "dead man's face, set immediately to tearing off the skin, laying "the bones quite bare. Terror-stricken, he decided to attack it, "but he had no weapons, and next moment there remained of "his father's corpse no more than a white skeleton, stripped of "skin and flesh. It was never discovered to what sort or class this "k w e i or s h e n belonged" [1].

Seeing that spirits are believed by the Chinese to feed on sacrificial food without this changing in the least or diminishing in quantity, we cannot reasonably feel astonished that they are deemed able also to devour corpses without these bearing thereafter the traces of it. "When Chang Han was young, he was a man of resolution and "spirit, conversant in Ch'ang-ngan with brave, straightforward people. "He had a beloved concubine. Han always made her happy, but

---

[1] 南康縣營民區敬之宋元嘉元年與息共乘舫、自縣泝流深入小溪。幽荒險絕、人跡所未嘗至。夕登岸停止舍中、敬之中惡卒死。其子燃火守尸。忽聞遠哭聲呼阿舅。孝子驚疑、俛仰間哭者已至。如人長大、被髮至足、髮多蔽面、不見七竅。因呼孝子姓名、慰喻之、孝子恐懼、因悉薪以燃火。此物言故來相慰、當何所畏、將須燃火、此物坐亡人頭邊哭。孝子於火光中竊覘之、見此物以面掩亡人面、須臾裂剝露骨。孝子懼欲擊之、無兵仗、須臾其父尸見白骨連續、而皮肉都盡。竟不測此物是何鬼神. K K, ch. 324, professedly from the *Shuh i ki*, in which, however, I do not find this narrative.

"too soon a case of death called him away to one of the districts "adjoining the city. Several months elapsed before he could return, "just to find her carried off by disease.

"Deeply he bewailed her loss. The sun meanwhile set, so that he "had to lodge in her dwelling for that night. She was not yet buried, "but her encoffined corpse had been put away behind in the hall. "There was no other apartment, but, asked he, can death cause a "separation as long as love cherished in life exists? — and he laid "himself down under a muslin curtain.

"After midnight the moon shone brightly in the courtyard, "while Han lay sleepless, sobbing and sighing. Suddenly he "discovered a being between the gate and the screen in front of "it. Putting out its head from behind the screen it peeped round; "then it came forth and shrank back again, subsequently moving "around the screen, and appearing midway in the courtyard. It "was upward of one chang in size, with trousers of leopard's "skin, teeth like a saw, and hair flowing down disorderly. Three "other spectres appeared successively, hopping about in the moon- "shine, with red cords trailing behind. 'What about that honourable "man there on the couch?' they asked. 'He is asleep', they said, "and with these words they ascended the steps, and entered the "place where the coffin stood. Breaking away the things placed "around and over it, they bore it into the moonshine, broke it open, "and seized the corpse, which they dismembered, cut into pieces, "and sitting down in a circle, devoured. The blood streamed in the "courtyard, and the clothes of the corpse lay disorderly on the floor[1].

---

[1] 韋翰少時有志氣、長安交遊豪俠。有愛妾。翰常悅之、居無何翰有故遊近畿。數月方廻、及至妾已病死。

翰甚悼之。既而日暮因宿其舍。尚未葬、殯於堂奥。既無他室、翰曰、平生之愛存、沒何間、獨宿緦帳中。

夜半後庭月皓然、翰悲歎不寐。忽見門屏間有一物。傾首而窺、進退逡巡入庭中。長丈許、著豹皮襜、鋸牙披髮。更有三鬼相繼進、乃拽朱索舞於月下。相與言曰、牀上貴人奈何。又曰、寢矣、便昇階入殯所。拆發舁櫬於月中、破而取

"The horrified Han was pained at the sight. Just now, he said "to himself, they called me a honourable man; so if I attack them, "nothing bad, to be sure, will befall on me. A bamboo pole, which "he saw outside the curtain, he seized silently, and he rushed out "against the demons from the dark, showering blows upon them "with loud yells. In a deadly fright the devils took to their heels, on "which Han, taking advantage of his success, pursued them closely, "till they disappeared over the wall at the north-west corner.

"One of the demons, however, slower than the rest, was unable "to scale that obstacle, and did not make its escape before receiving "a blow which drew blood from its body. Alarmed by the tumult, "the inmates of the house leapt from their beds to the rescue. Han "related to them everything, and they determined to re-coffin the "remains of the skeleton; but when they reached the place in the "hall where the coffin had been put away, they found there everything "in its old condition, nor did they see anything in the spot where "the repast was held. Han in his confusion was inclined to regard "it all as a bad dream, but for the blood they saw on the wall, "and the footprints on the top of it, which nobody remembered "to have observed there before. A few years afterwards, Han obtained "a position in the service of the state" [1].

---

其尸、糜割肢體、環坐共食之。血流於庭、衣物狼籍。

[1] 翰恐懼且痛之。自云曰、向叫我作貴人、我今擊之必無苦。遂潛取帳外竿、忽於暗中擲出、大叫擊鬼。鬼大駭走、翰乘勢逐之、西北隅逾垣而去。

有一鬼最後不得上、翰擊中流血、乃得去。家人聞變亂起來救之。翰具道其事、將收餘骸、及至堂殯所儼然如故、而啾處亦無所見。翰恍惚以爲夢中、驗其牆有血、其上有迹、竟不知其然。後數年翰貴達. *Kwei tung*, ch. 1.

## CHAPTER XII.

### APPARITIONS AT DEATH.

Again we must remind our readers for a moment of the belief, held generally by the Chinese people from the earliest times, in the possibility of the revival of the dead, which is the principal source of so vast a mass of ideas and usages connected with the disposal of the dead, as we have tried to depict in our First Book.

This belief naturally causes everybody to admit, that the re-animation of the body by the soul's return will take place soon after the demise, ere decomposition shows that the soul has abandoned the corpse and the house. And ever living in constant fear of spectres, the Chinese must await that return with anxiety, for what guarantee is there that the departed soul has not in the mean time become a malicious ghost, as so many spirits are?

Thus we may admit the prevalence of a dread of re-animation of the dead among the Chinese race from its early prime. However, we find no mention made of it in books older than the sixth century. Yen Chi-t'ui then wrote in his Domestic Instructions: "Books not standing on a par (with the classical) make mention "of shah returning to the house after death. Sons and grand-"sons then flee and hide themselves, and all refuse to stay at "home, and they decorate the tiles with written charms, per-"forming sundry practices to suppress the evil. And on the day "on which the funeral train sets out, they make a fire before the "gate, placing also glowing coals outside the doors, in order to "exorcise and avert that domestic ghost" [1].

That word shah (煞 or 殺), denoting such new ghosts, means "murderous, killing" (comp. page 683), which sufficiently attests

---

[1] 偏傍之書死有歸煞。子孫逃竄、莫肯在家、畫瓦書符、作諸厭勝。喪出之日門前然火、戶外烈灰、祓送家鬼. *Yen-shi kia hiun*, sect. 6.

their dangerous character. A book of the ninth century of our era describes them as bird-shaped. "It is a popular tradition that some "days after the death of a man, a bird or so-called shah must "come out of his coffin. In the Yuen hwo period (806—820) one "Ching was catching animals in the plains of Sih-cheu (Shansi pr.), "in company with some officers of that department, and caught in "a net a large bird of a blue colour, over five feet high. Scarcely "had he given orders to take it out of the net and show it to him, "when it disappeared from sight. Affrighted, he immediately inquired "of the people of the hamlet, and he got this answer from one of "them: 'In our village a man has died some days ago, and the "diviner has said that his shah would depart to-day; his family "have kept watch to see it, and a big blue bird has flown out "of the coffin; can this be the bird you have caught?' In the "Tien pao period (742—756), Ts'ui Kwang-yuen, the Governor of "the Metropolis, while hunting, fell in with a spectral bird, and "the same thing happened as sketched above" [1].

— "A tsin-shi graduate of Ching-cheu (in Honan pr.), named "Ts'ui Szĕ-fuh, spent a night in the Dharma-hall of a Buddhist "temple, and was just falling asleep, when on a sudden a voice "cried to him. In terror he rose, and saw that it was that of a beast "like a crane, bluish black, with eyes glaring like lamps; it flapped "its wings, and loudly cried with a shrill voice. Szĕ-fuh was so "frightened that he fled into the side-gallery, whereupon it stopped "crying. The next day he spoke with the priests about the incident, "who said: 'There have never been here any apparitions of the "kind, but ten days ago a number of coffins with corpses were "deposited in the hall; it may have come thence'. Szĕ-fuh, coming "to the capital, related the incident to a Buddhist priest, named "Khai-pao. 'The matter is mentioned in the Sutras of the Piṭaka',

---

[1] 俗傳、人之死凡數日當有禽自柩中而出者、曰殺。元和中有鄭生者嘗於隰州與鄉官略於野、有網得一巨鳥、色蒼、高五尺餘。生將命解而視之、忽無所見。生驚卽訪甲中民訊之、民有對者曰、里中有人死且數日、卜人言今日殺當去、其家伺而視之、有巨鳥、色蒼、自柩中出、君之所獲果是乎。天寶中京兆尹崔光遠因遊略嘗遇一妖鳥、事與此同也. *Sŭen-shih chi*; K K, ch. 366.

"said this man; that bird was a metamorphosis of the breath "of the corpse of somebody who had recently died; we call it a "Mara of the Yin'" [1].

In a work the preface of which is dated 1250 we find the following interesting lines, which show that the fear of the soul's return to the house of death was connected in the age of the Sung dynasty with various superstitious ideas and usages: —

"According to Chao Tung-shan from Yueh (Chehkiang), Hi Fen "lost his father, the Governor of Hwui-ki, in the year keng-suh "of the Shun yiu period (A. D. 1250). Three memorable things "took place at the funeral: they did not run away on account of the "shah; they employed no Buddhist or Taoist clergymen; they did "not credit the Yin and Yang (fung-shui). It is unknown to me "when mention is for the first time made of such running away "from the shah. On the hundredth day after the demise of Lü "Ts'ai (see Book I, p. 1006), a doctor in the Court of Sacrificial "Worship under the T'ang dynasty, as also at the end of one year, "his shah wrought harm. Such shah do so in this manner: — "say a case of death occurs on a szĕ day, then, if the shah is "a male one, it returns on the forty-seventh day to kill a girl "of thirteen or fourteen; and if it is a female shah, this comes "from the south and kills a pale boy in the third house. Among "members of the tribes named Ching, Pan, Sun, and Ch'en, the "shah comes twice to the house of death, to wit, on the twenty-"fourth day and on the twenty-ninth; for which reason those "people warn each other to run away in time. From inns the "dead are carried out for burial on the very day of their demise, "for then whither will their shah return? In the Metropolis too "the things are upset in the house, and the inmates run out of it. "Chao Tung-shan says: 'But how is it possible that there should "be people who, when engaged on the mourning rites for their

[1] 鄭州進士崔嗣復宿僧寺法堂上、方睡、忽有聲叱之者。嗣復驚起、視之、則一物如鶴、色蒼黑、目炯炯如燈、鼓翅、大呼甚厲。嗣復惶恐、避之廡下、乃止。明日語僧、對曰、素無此怪第、旬日前有蓑柩堂上者、恐是耳。嗣復至都下、爲開寶一僧言之。僧曰、藏經有之、此新死屍氣所變、號陰摩羅鬼. *Ts'ing tsun luh*; TS, sect. 神異, ch. 320.

"parents, are at the same time anxious to preserve their bodies "safe and sound from danger, and for that purpose leave the coffin "alone, shut within an empty house? And is it admissible that any "father should then harm his children, whereas we see, that while "they are sleeping quite alone (in the mourning shed) on straw or "matting with a clod of earth for a pillow, they are undisturbed "whole nights, without any evil befalling them?'" [1].

Chao Yü too has devoted his attention to the matter. "Hung Yung-chai" [2], thus he wrote in his valuable collection of historical dissertations on a great variety of subjects, "relates in the *I kien chi*, "that when Tung Ch'ing, a grandee of the 'rh-lang rank, was "dead and coffined, his family, in compliance with popular custom, "sifted some ashes on the ground before the fire-place, in order "to find out in what being the dead was reborn; and they "discovered therein two footprints of a goose, so that they all sur-"mised that the dead man had been degraded to some animal

---

1 越人趙東山希棼淳祐庚戌丁父會稽郡王憂。其居喪有可紀者三、不避煞、不用僧道、不信陰陽。避煞之說不知出於何時。按唐太常博士呂才百忌歷載喪煞損害。法如已日死者雄煞四十七日回、殺十三四歲女、雌煞出南方、第三家殺白色男子。或姓鄭潘孫陳至二十日及二十九日兩次回喪家、故世俗相戒至期必避之。然旅邸死者卽日出殯、煞回何處。京城乃傾家出避。東山曰、安有執親之喪欲全身遠害而扃靈柩於空屋之下。又豈有爲人父而害其子者乃獨臥苫塊中終夕帖然無事. *Ch'ui kien luh wai tsih* 吹劍錄外集, some sixty leaves of desultory notices and critical disquisitions on matters and events of all times, moderately esteemed by scholars. The author is Yu Wen-pao 俞文豹, also named Wen-wei 文蔚, of whom nothing is known. It is probably a fragment of a larger work.

2 That is to say, Hung Mai. The second name (字) of this productive author, who lived from 1123 to 1203, was King-lu 景盧. Yung-chai 容齋, or Spacious Closet, is, I think, an epithet derived from his study, or from the place where he lived. We find this epithet in the title of another work from his hand, from which we have sometimes borrowed material, viz. the *Yung-chai pih* 容齋筆 or Productions of Yung-chai's Writing-brush, consisting of five collections of critical notes on a great variety of literary and historical subjects.

"species. Hen Tien mentions the following incident in his *Si ts'iao "yé ki*[1]: My fellow-villager Ku Kang having died, his shah came "back to the house. This occurred in the night. Incense, paper "money, meat and dainties had been placed by his wife on the "table of the soul; they had hung the apartment with ornamental "curtains and closed the door, and concealed themselves in the "adjacent houses, with the exception of one old woman, whom they "left behind alone to guard the dwelling. This woman then saw "a beast in the shape of a monkey and of the size of a dog, "leaning over the table to devour the meat. On perceiving her it "dealt her a hail of blows, until her cries and yells brought the "family to her rescue, who, however, saw nothing at all.

"In his treatise on living shah of the male and female gender, "Ch'u Yung[2] says: When some one dies on such-and-such a day, "he undergoes the shah influences of such-and-such an other day. "According to the books on Yin and Yang philosophy, there "exist female and male shah, which either leave the corpse, or "do not leave it; but such talk seems to deserve no credit. If the "female shah does not quit the corpse, the right foot turns "towards the left, and if the male shah does not go out of it, "the left foot moves towards the right side; when none of these "shah quit the corpse, the feet will move towards each other, "and when both the shah leave it, they do not bend, but take "an outward direction"[3].

---

1 西樵野記, Writings from the Fields at the Western Tower, four chapters of tales from the Ming dynasty.

2 儲泳, also named Wen-khing 文卿, living in the age of Sung.

3 洪容齋夷堅志董成二郎死而既斂、家人用俚俗法篩細灰於靈前、欲驗死者所趨、已而見二鵝足跡在灰上、皆疑董已墮入畜類。又侯甸西樵野記、鄉人顧綱卒煞回。適值夜中。其妻設香楮牲饌于靈几、閫中障以彩綺、合門、皆隱隣舍、獨留一媼守家。媼見一物、狀如猿而大如犬、據案啖牲。見媼連毆之、媼號呼家人趨救、已失之矣。

儲泳論男女生煞云、人以某日死則受某日之煞氣。陰陽家所載有雌煞、有雄煞、有出、有不

The belief that the souls of the dead may haunt their own homes as dangerous shah, is, of course, hard to reconcile with another belief which pervades the Chinese mind at least as thoroughly, namely that those souls are not the enemies of their kinspeople, but their natural protectors, their domestic patron divinities. We have seen that a Chinese author has expressed surprise at this inconsistency. That dread may be old, for it may have been the cause of the ancient custom that rulers should provide themselves with an escort of exorcists armed with evil-dispelling instruments (Book I, pp. 36 and 41). It is, no doubt, the same fear which makes the people in Amoy to this day firmly believe that dangerous influences infect all who visit houses of death (Book I, pp. 32 and 108) or meet with a burial procession (Book I, p. 206), so that they should have recourse to certain cleansing-ceremonies as mentioned on pp. 32, 33, 137 and 231.

The dangers from a return of the dead are enhanced considerably by the circumstance, that very often they appear in the company of devils in whose power they are. On several pages of our description of customs connected with deaths we have had to mention a belief that man, on departing from this world, falls into the hands of malicious demons[1]; and very natural it is that such a belief should exist: for how could man, after a life beset by spectres on all sides, possibly expect to be free from their insidious attacks when he has divested himself of his material body and, therewith, of most of his physical strength?

"In Hwai-ngan", runs a tale, "a man bearing the surname of "Li lived with his wife A.B. in a harmony sweeter than that of lutes "and harps. When upward of thirty years old he fell ill, and "expired. On his being coffined, his wife could not find it in her "heart to have the lid nailed down; daily she wept from morning "to evening, and then lifted up the lid, to gaze on him. Of old, "when any one among the people died, his shah was expected "on the seventh day. All, even the nearest relations, fled, except "the wife, who would not; she concealed her children in another

出、其說似不可信。然雌煞不出則死者右足釘而向左、雄煞不出則左足釘而向右、皆不出則左右足皆釘而相向、皆出則兩足皆不釘而向外云云. *Kai yu tsʻung khao*, ch. 32, art. 避煞.

1 See the Index of Book I, **Spirits.**

"room, and sat down within the bed-curtains of the deceased, to "await him.

"At the second watch-drum a blast of cold wind rose; the lamp-"lights became green, and she saw a devil with red hair and cir-"cular eyes. Its height was upward of a chang; in its hands it "held an iron fork, and with a rope it hauled the husband "through the window into the room. But as soon as it saw the "sacrificial wine and the dainties arranged before the coffin, it "dropped the trident and the rope, and sat down by the food to "devour it by large mouthfuls, a clicking noise sounding in its "belly at each bite. Meanwhile the husband walked round, touching "and stroking his chairs and tables with signs of great distress and "deep sighs, finally running to the bed and raising the curtain. "His wife burst into wailing and clasped him in her arms, but she "became cold, as if a condensed chilly cloud followed him and "enveloped her. The red-haired demon tried to drag him away "from her by the rope, which made her cry so loudly that her sons "and daughters ran to the rescue. The red-haired devil ran away, "and with the help of her children she placed the soul, clinging "around her, in the coffin, with the result that the corpse began "to breathe. Then she clasped her goodman in her arms, placed "him on the bed, and gave him rice-gruel to drink; he came "round at daybreak. The iron trident which the spectre had left "behind, was of paper, as those which the people are wont to "burn for spirits [1].

---

[1] 淮安李姓者與妻某氏琴瑟調甚。李三十餘病亡。已殮矣、妻不忍釘棺、朝夕哭、啟而視之。故事民間人死七日則有迎煞之舉。雖至戚皆廻避、妻獨不肯、置子女于別室、已坐亡者帳中待之。

至二鼓陰風颯然、燈火盡綠、見一鬼紅髮圓眼。長丈餘、手持鐵叉、以繩牽其夫從窓外入。見棺前設酒饌便放叉解繩、坐而大啖、每咽物腹中嘖嘖有聲。其夫摩撫舊時几案、愴然長嘆、走至床前揭帳。妻哭抱之、冷然如一團冷雲遂裹。以被紅髮神競前牽奪、妻大呼、子女盡至。紅髮神踉蹌走、妻與子女以所裹魂放置棺中、

"Again they lived as a married couple for more than twenty "years. The wife, who was then sixty, was once praying in the "temple of the God of the Walls and Moats, and vaguely saw "two bowmen carrying a criminal with a cangue round his neck. "On looking more closely, she recognized in the cangue-wearer the "red-haired devil. With a curse it exclaimed: 'It was my gluttony "that allowed you to play that trick on me which caused me "to be punished with the cangue for twenty years; shall I now "that I fall in with you let you escape?' The woman went home, "and died" [1].

Another tale in the same work informs us, that the demons accompanying returning shah are believed to be lictors or menials of the governors and chiefs of the world of spirits, who administer justice there. "Everywhere among the people, when anybody dies, "they place in the fourteenth evening the clothes and coverlets of "the dead beside the coffin, and the whole family hide themselves, "pretending that the soul then comes to rejoin the corpse. They "call it the returning shah" [2]. The hero of the tale awaits the ghost, which is that of his wife, and asks her: "I have heard "people say, that when any one dies, spectres performing the "functions of lictors arrest him and bind him, so that the returning "shah is accompanied by shah spirits; how have you managed "to come back alone?' On which P'eng, the ghost, answers: 'Such "shah spirits are spectres acting as lictors charged with such arrests; "guilty people are drawn along by them with a rope round their "necks; but the chief of the nether world declared me guiltless; "and as I had not broken the old ties that connect me with you, "he allowed me to return home alone" [3].

---

屍漸奄然有氣。遂抱置臥床上、灌以米汁、天明而蘇。其所遺鐵叉俗所焚紙叉也。

[1] 復爲夫婦二十餘年。妻六旬矣、偶禱于城隍廟、恍惚中見二弓丁舁一枷犯至。眙之、所枷者卽紅髮神也。罵婦曰、吾以食饒故爲爾所弄枷二十年矣、今乃相遇肯放汝耶。婦至家而卒. *Tsze puh yü*, ch. I.

[2] 通俗人死、二七夜設死者衣衾于柩側、舉家躲避、言魂來赴屍、名曰回煞。

[3] 聞說人死有鬼卒拘束、回煞有煞神與偕、爾

In the Journal of the Peking Oriental Society for 1898 (vol. IV, p. 89), Professor Grube gives us some notes about these superstitions as he found them in Peking. The shah khi, says he, "the murderous breath or soul", may have one of the five colours. It destroys the happiness of those who meet it. It always escapes from the corpse at night, on the first, second or third day after death, or even later; expert soothsayers inform the family of the exact date. The family then hide themselves, after having set out a sacrifice of spirits and eatables in the room, to which in the case of a woman a comb and a mirror are added. The departure of the shah betrays itself by a slight noise hardly perceptible; after it has taken place, the family re-appear from their hiding-places. The author then gives us the tale of a thief, who wanted to take advantage of this absence of a family in order to rob them, and, dressed with a sheepskin to look like a hairy devil, with dishevelled hair and his face painted red, stole into the house. But one of the inmates had stayed in the room to look to the lamps. On beholding the spectre, he concealed himself under the coffin, and seeing it break open everything and make off with the loot, drew his white mourning gown over his head, and sprang at it from under the coffin. The trick was a perfect success: the horrified burglar, believing that he saw the real shah, sank to the ground unconscious.

---

何得獨返。彭曰、煞神卽管束之鬼卒也、有罪則羈絏而從、冥司念妾無罪、且與君前緣未斷故縱令獨回。

## CHAPTER XIII.

### BLACK CALAMITIES.

Catastrophes in general, caused by spectres, are, as we have remarked before (pp. 468 *seq.*), denoted by the word sheng[1], and a special class of them are so-called hoh sheng[2] or "black calamities".

In the Books of the Early Han Dynasty we read: "The colour "of Wood is blue; therefore there exist blue sheng, and blue "siang"[3] or felicities. We know that the element Wood and the colour blue are assimilated with the east and the spring; accordingly, proceeding with this line of reasoning, there are sheng and siang distinguished by the five principal colours, and assimilated with the elements, the cardinal points, and the seasons, in the sense indicated on page 317 of Book I.

Sheng and siang, thus distinguished into five sorts, are, in fact, mentioned in the Books of the Han Dynasty in the same chapter from which we have quoted the above passage, and also in the literature of subsequent periods. They are stated in some Official Histories to have shown themselves in different ways and shapes, but mostly as vapours or clouds of certain degrees of density, which later on proved to have been prognostics of happy events or great catastrophes for the dynasty or the people. The black sheng have especially occupied attention as spectres of a very nefarious and terrible character; which is rational, whereas black is the colour of darkness or the Yin, to which spectres belong. We find them mentioned *e. g.* in the Standard Histories of the Sung dynasty: "In the last year of the Yuen fung period (A.D. 1085) there "used to be a being as large as a mat, which appeared at night "in the halls at the back (of the Palace), and thereupon the

---

[1] 眚. [2] 黑眚.

[3] 木色青，故有青眚青祥. Ch. 27, II, f. 2.

"emperor Shen Tsung died. In the last year of the Yuen fu "period (A.D. 1100) it again appeared several times, after which "Cheh Tsung departed this life. Then until the Ta kwan period "it was now and then seen in the daytime, but in the first "year of the Ching hwo period (A.D. 1111) and thereafter it "appeared with more frequency. It came forth whenever it heard "men speak, preceded by a noise as if a row of houses were being "pushed down. It was nearly one chang in height, resembled a "tortoise with eyes of gold, and made a grating noise when it moved. "A black vapour envelopped it, which descended over everybody, "and whatever it touched was sprinkled all over with rancid "blood. Neither weapons nor swords could be used against it. "Sometimes it changed into a man, sometimes it was a donkey. It "appeared day and night, from the spring throughout the summer, "and was met with at all times, but during that winter it was "seldom seen. It was mostly in the side-courts, where the palace-"servants dwelled, but it also came to the inner halls; afterwards "they got accustomed to it and considered it as an everyday matter, "so that it no longer inspired much fear. Thereupon, in the last "year of the Süen hwo period (A.D. 1125), it kept quiet and "rarely appeared, but then the rebellion broke out"[1] — which put an end to the dominion of the house of Sung in the north.

"And in the third year of the Ching hwo period (A.D. 1113), "at the summer solstice, the Minister Ho Tsih-chung offered the "Imperial sacrifice (to the Earth) in the northern suburb, when a "black vapour, several chang in length, issued from the fasting-"apartment, and having moved forward for about a mile, entered "the walled altar-ground, and whirled around the sacrificial place. "Then, quite close to the men, it passed between the lights and

[1] 元豐末嘗有物、大如席、夜見寢殿上、而神宗崩。元符末又數見、而哲宗崩。至大觀間漸晝見、政和元年以後大作。每得人語聲則出、先若列屋推倒之聲。其形僅丈餘、髣髴如龜金眼、行動硿硿有聲。黑氣蒙之、下人了了、氣之所及腥血四灑。兵刃皆不能施。又或變人形、亦或爲驢。自春歷夏晝夜出無時遇、冬則罕見。多在掖庭宮人所居之地、亦嘗及內殿、後習以爲常、人亦不大怖。宣和末寢少而亂遂作. Ch. 62, l. 15.

"torches, but on a sudden it neared the altar a second time, and "disappeared when the ceremonies drew to an end" [1].

The dog-shaped black devils, which, as we have seen on page 764, raged between the years 1119 and 1126 in and about Loh-yang, even devouring babies, evidently were Black Calamities. Also under the Ming dynasty these spectres manifested themselves with frequency; some thirty cases are recorded in two folios specially devoted to the subject in the Official Histories of that house. Those folios teach us, that they appeared as black or grey vapours, or as rains of sand, ink, or black peas. Never, it seems, did they rage so tremendously as in 1476: "In the twelfth year of the Ch'ing hwa "period, in the seventh month, on the day keng-suh, Black "Calamities appeared in the western city or ward of the Metropolis. "They came forth at night and wounded men. The Inspecting "Censor of that ward reported it to the emperor, who commanded "that measures should be taken to catch them, and warned the "people not to communicate their apprehensions to others (and "thereby create panics). The Grand Secretary of State, Shang Loh, "because of these apparitions of Black Calamities drew up eight "points by which to appease them, and the emperor accepted these "with satisfaction. Those eight points, discussed by Shang Loh, "were the following: the master of the realm of the Tibetan "priesthood (Dalai-Lama) should not be given a patent a second "time. Except the customary tribute from the four quarters of "the world, no valuables should be accepted by the Throne. "People of every class and rank should be allowed to report the "truth personally to the authorities. Emissaries from the Boards "should be sent out to examine the cases of prisoners, in order "that justice might be done to the wronged and oppressed. Building-"works should be suspended or delayed. The provisioning of the "armies on the three frontiers should be completed. The passes on "the frontiers should be put in a state of defence. A special "Governor should be appointed for Yunnan province" [2].

---

[1] 政和三年夏至宰臣何執中奉祀北郊、有黑氣、長數丈、出自齋宮、行一里許、入壇壝、繞祭所。皆近人穿燈燭而過、俄又及於壇、禮將畢不見 *Ibid.*

[2] 成化十二年七月庚戌京師西城有黑眚見。

This episode, for the historical truth of which the Official Histories of the Ming dynasty are a guarantee [1], is interesting, because it shows how spectrophoby may in China impose upon emperors the introduction of important political measures and improvements of the system of government. But we should bear in mind, that in China spectres are retributive agents of Heaven. How deeply that panic affected the nerves of the official world in Peking, may be seen from the fact, likewise duly recorded in the Official Histories, that "when on the day k e n g-s u h, in the seventh month, the "Black Calamities had appeared, the emperor on the day y i h-ch'e u "(fifteen days later) personally offered prayers to Heaven and Earth "within the Forbidden Palace, confessing himself guilty of the four "following sins: his measures were not moderate; the services im- "posed upon his subjects for government works weighed too heavily "upon them; the faithful and loyal were not listened to; no "benevolent government was administered. On the day w u-ch'e n "(three days later) he sent out envoys to examine the cases of "prisoners throughout the empire" [2]. We are not told whether these measures, this self-humiliation and self-imputation induced the Universe to call its spectres back, but still the Standard Histories give us the following particulars:

"If men and women among the people slept uncovered (because "of the heat), a being with gold eyeballs and a long tail, shaped "like a dog or a fox, with a black vapour on its back, entered "the windows, and straightway proceeded to the private rooms.

---

夜出傷人。巡城御史以聞、命設法捕之、仍戒人毋得傳疑。大學士商輅因黑眚見條弭災八事、上嘉納之。輅言八事曰、番僧國師不得重給符券。曰、四方常貢外勿受玩好。曰、諸色人許直言自達。曰、分遣部使者錄囚以理冤抑。曰、停不急營造。曰、實三邊軍儲。曰、守緣邊關隘。曰、增置雲南巡撫. *Ming ta ching ki* 明大政紀, Chronicle of important Government Measures of the Ming Dynasty, quoted in the TS, sect. 庶徵, ch. 162.

1 Shang Loh's Biography, in ch. 176, l. 18.

2 七月庚戌黑眚見、乙丑躬禱天地於禁中、以用度不節、工役勞民、忠言不聞、仁政不施、四事自責。戊辰遣使錄天下囚. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 14, l 1.

"When it came, uproar arose among the people, and the ward "all around fell into a panic and alarm. They drew their swords, "set out lights, beat on gongs and drums, and chased it without "succeeding in catching it. Once while the emperor held his "audience at the Fung-t'ien gate, his body-guards perceived it "and began to cry; the emperor then would rise with benevolent "intent, but it grasped his gown for a moment, and then kept "quiet" [1].

Another author writes, that in such nocturnal attacks on sleeping people, "these incurred wounds in their hands and feet, cheeks, "bellies or backs, from which a yellow fluid matter came forth..... "They became aware of those wounds when they awoke, for the "wounds did not ache very much .... The spectres began their "work in the north-west of the ward, and nobody ventured to "make report of it, until each ward had its wounded victims, and "everybody lodged complaints with the police magistrates. The "inspecting Censor of the ward arrested and examined people, found "reliable proofs, and reported to the Throne; they declared that "they did not know by what beings their wounds were inflicted; "many who had seen them, had told him they were black and "had small, gold eyeballs, long tails, and the shape of a dog or "fox; there had been no less than twenty specimens. They did not "stop their work until another ten days had elapsed" [2].

Black Calamities inflicting wounds and even killing men are

---

[1] 民間男女露宿、有物金睛修尾、狀如犬貍、負黑氣、入牖直抵密室。至則人昏迷、徧城驚擾。操刀、張燈、鳴金鼓、逐之不可得。帝嘗朝奉天門、侍衛見之而譁、帝欲起懷恩、持帝衣、頃之乃定. The same work, ch. 28, l. 33.

[2] 或手足、或頭臉、或腹背被傷、出黃水。。。醒時覺傷、亦不甚痛。。。此怪初起於城西北、人莫敢言、及各城皆有被傷者始各訴于兵馬司。巡城御史拘審有驗、乃具以聞、止云不知被何物所傷、然多有見者云黑而小金睛、修尾、狀類犬貍、蓋不啻二十餘枚。兼旬始息. *Ming chao tai tien* 明昭代典, quoted in TS, sect 庶徵, ch. 162.

stated to have appeared in the year 1512 in Shun-teh [1] and Ho-kien [2], which are parts of Chihli province; they varied in size and shape between a cat and a dog, and soon appeared in Peking, red and black, as also in Fung-khiu [3], in Honan province [4]. Some particulars about their appearance in 1557 in Hung-cheu we have given on page 482. In 1572 they showed themselves in Hang-cheu [5], in the province of Chehkiang, in a black fog, as serpentine beings rolling like car-wheels, with eyes like lightning, and were followed by frost and hail [6]. From many other references we only note that they sometimes threw tiles and stones; in 1558, in Heng-yang [7], in Hunan, "they placed themselves as nightmare spectres upon "women, so that blood streamed out of their mouths immediately, "with fatal consequences" [8]; in Shansi, in the district of P'u [9], there appeared one in 1600 in the shape of a large hairy barrel, which came down from a willow tree and disappeared [10].

With all these written data before us, we cannot wonder that the belief in Black Calamities flourishes in China at the present day. Some popular ideas about them are sketched by Sui Yuen. "People in Chu-ch'ing (in Shantung pr.) say, that in their country "there are in a village of the Yin family, outside the city, many "old graves, in which, according to old tradition, a spectre dwelled, "whose shape was that of a man, and whose face did not consist "of solid substance, but was a condensation of blackish vapour. "It was more than a c h a n g in height, and frequently come forth "at night, hiding itself during the day. When that being was "out and met a man on the road, then, when at the distance of "a bowshot, it suddenly whistled like a lightning flash, so that the "man felt his heart palpitate and his courage drop; but he who "saw and heared it did not know what it was, for as soon as it had "whistled it placed a black vapour between itself and that man, "and when its rank and filthy stench struck his olfactory nerves, "that vapour vanished. The villagers were wont to warn each other

---

1 順德. 2 河間. 3 封邱.

4 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 28, l. 33.

5 杭州. 6 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 28, l. 33.

7 衡陽.

8 覺及婦女、口即流血而死. *Hu-kwang t'ung chi*, quoted in TS, sect. 庶徵, ch. 162.

9 蒲, 10 *Shan-si t'ung chi*; TS, *loc. cit.*

"against that road, which they thought ought to be shunned, and "therefore was unfrequented as long as darkness lasted.

"A salt-peddler X, dealing in salt there, a greedy wine-bibber, "had in his drunkenness forgotten the warning, and by mistake "turned down that road. The moon had already been above the "horizon for two watch-drums, when in front of him the spectre "suddenly sprang forth and obstructed the road, loudly whistling. "X beat it with his carrying-pole, but this seemed not to hit or "hurt anything; his fright then became intense; not knowing how "otherwise to help himself, he hastily grasped some of his salt "and threw it at the spectre, and lo, this moved round about him "for a time, recoiled and shrank, and sank into the ground. The "saltman then threw all the salt he had in his baskets over the "spot where it had disappeared, and went away. When it was light, "he retraced his steps, and saw that the salt which he had thrown "out in one heap on the ground had become quite red, and emitted "a rancid and filthy stench hardly bearable, and that there were blood-"drops beside it on the ground. After this event the apparition "occurred no more" [1]. Evidently then such tremendous spectres are destroyed by salt, dissolved by it like snails; and salt may therefore be deemed by many in China a mighty means of defence against spectres.

---

[1] 諸城人言、其地有殷家村在城外多古壙、舊傳壙中有怪物、形如人、面無質、僅黑氣一團。高丈許、每夜出、晝隱。其出也遇人於途、隔一矢地輒作嘯聲如霹靂、令人心震胆落、惟見者聞他則罔覺也、嘯畢以黑氣障人、至腥穢觸鼻輩絶。里人相戒視爲畏途、昏暮無行者。

有鹽販某市鹽他所、貪飲、醉中忘戒誤蹴。其時月上已二鼓、前怪忽突出遮道、大嘯。某以木挑格之、若無所損、駭極、不知爲計、急取鹽撒之、物漸逡巡退縮入地。因舉籮中鹽悉傾其處而去。曉往蹤跡、見所棄鹽堆積地上皆作紅色、腥穢難聞、旁有血點狼藉。此後怪遂絶. *Tsze puh yü*, supplement, ch. 8.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## ADDITIONAL PARTICULARS.

There have undoubtedly existed in China classes of spectres occupying a large place in popular superstition, but the remembrance of which has passed away. There may also exist to this day many kinds haunting only certain parts of the realm, so that particulars about them can only be gathered orally on the spot, and cannot be found in books. There may, in short, remain much to tell of spectres of which we know as yet nothing, not even the denominations, or nothing more than the names. This is the case with the lai and the ch'eng-ch'eng, mentioned respectively on page 473 and page 574. Indefinable spectres are frequently mentioned in books as invisible openers of doors and windows, as makers of mysterious noises, as throwers of tiles and various missiles, and as beings responsible for naughty tricks and mischief not assigned to human agency. Such spectres have been invented by imagination in infinite numbers at all times, keeping men's minds in continual anxiety, until new generations created new kinds eclipsing the old. Many, saved from oblivion by the pens of authors, to this day cause Chinese blood to run cold, and their deeds being read, told, and retold, maintain or steadily develop superstitious spectrophoby.

To these spectres belong the specimens of which the following tales are related:

"The Buddhist monk Fah-ch'ang, of a convent at Lung-men, in "Honan, was a man from Yuen-wu in the Ching department. In "the Pao lih period (825 or 826) he returned from Lung-men "to Yuen-wu. His family possessed there some acres of ground, "where the corn stood ripe, but still uncut. One evening he rode "into the fields, when on a sudden his horse stood stock still and "refused to advance; he applied the whip, but the animal did not "move for all that, and stared eastward as if it perceived some-

"thing there. In the bright moonlight the monk then saw in that "direction, some hundred paces off, a being resembling a rotten "tree, which approached resolutely. He was seized by fright, im- "mediately turned his horse, and the animal galopped away from "the road for some dozens of paces, whence he watched the being "slowly approach, six or seven feet high, emitting a stench extremely "rancid and filthy, worse than a salt-fish shop. With a soft panting "noise it moved on in a westerly direction; Fah-ch'ang gave his "horse the whip and rode on behind, keeping at a distance of some "dozens of paces.

"When they had thus gone about one mile, they came to the "house of the villager Wang, into which the being slunk. Fah- "ch'ang halted his horse and watched. After a while he heard some "one in the house exclaim: 'the cow in the mill-house is dying, "come and see!'; and after a further interval he heard a cry: 'the "donkey in the out-house is sinking to the ground, quite helpless'; "then again he heard wails of fright, and seeing somebody rush "out of the house, asked what the matter was. 'The son of the "house-owner, about ten years old, is suddenly dying', said this "man, and no sooner were these words from his lips than "Fah-ch'ang heard the lamentations again, with a series of "exclamations of terror; and this went on till after midnight, "when the sounds diminished, until at dawn they entirely died "away. Fah-ch'ang, frightened and astonished, immediately warned "the neighbours. Together they came up to Wang's dwelling and "inspected it closely; the deepest silence reigned there and no "sound was heard; they opened the door, and found all the inmates, "more than ten in number, dead; even of the fowls and dogs not "one was alive" [1].

---

[1] 河南龍門寺僧法長者鄭州原武人。寶歷中嘗自龍門歸原武。家有田數頃、稔而未刈。一夕因乘馬行田間、馬忽屹不前、雖鞭拊輒不動、惟瞪目東望若有所見。時月明隨其望數百步外有一物如古木色、兀然而來。長懼、卽廻馬、走道左數十步、伺之其物來漸近、乃高六七尺、氣腥穢甚愈於鮑肆。有聲綿綿如呻吟西望而去、長策馬隨其後常遠數十步。

行一里餘至里民王氏家遂突入焉。長駐馬伺

— "In the Süen hwo period (1119—1126), a military officer "of Shensi became an inspector in a part of the province of "King-tung. More than a year after he had assumed office he "suddenly saw behind the partition a big, blue-faced spectre, whose "head, though its owner was squatting down, still reached as high "as a roof on pillars. The man of the sword, brave, bold, fearless, "took his bow and shot an arrow into its belly; the spectre "laughingly said: 'got it!' and on a second shot it exclaimed: "'good shot!' Twenty arrows thus successively were discharged, "sticking into its body like porcupine-quills, and then the spectre "lay dead and motionless[1].

"At this juncture, two small spectres carried the mother of the "inspector out of the room. Lest he might hurt or kill her, he "threw his bow and arrows aside, and, to deliver her, called his "sons, slaves and concubines to the rescue, but not one of them "gave an answer. Therefore he went back to look into the house, "and saw all the inmates dead, their bodies in a heap on the "ground, and in each body one of the arrows he had shot. Of "twenty persons, young and old, only he and his mother were left. "As soon as his fright and sorrow were somewhat abated, his under-"lings hurried to the prefect to report the news, and this magistrate "sent his deputies to see what had happened; and they all "stood aghast, and could devise nothing better than to buy coffins "and put the bodies into these. The night passed away and he

---

之。頃之忽聞其家呼曰、車宇下牛將死、可偕來視之、又頃聞呼後舍驢蹶仆地、不可救、又頃聞驚哭、有出者長訊之。曰、主人有子十餘歲忽卒、語未竟又聞哭音或驚叫聯聯不已、夜分後聲漸少、迨明而絕。長駭異卽具告其鄰。偕來王氏居偵之、其中悄然無聞、因開戶、而其家十餘人皆死、雞犬無存焉. *Süen-shih chi*, quoted in the K K, ch. 364.

[1] 宣和間陝西一武官爲京東路分都監官。到任踰歲忽見照壁後一大青面鬼、倨坐頭高柱屋。武人膽勇不懼、取弓矢射之、中其腹、笑曰、着、又射之曰、射得好。連二十發矢集其軀如蝟毛、鬼殊不動。

"was about to carry the coffins away for burial, when he hap-
"pened to open a side-room to fetch something, and — saw
"there the whole family seated, not dead at all, but as if in
"a dreamy doze. He told them the whole incident, but they
"understood nothing of it. Then he opened the coffins, and found
"therein ordure-baskets, brooms, barrels, ladles, and the like.
"They quickly removed to another place, and left that dwelling
"unoccupied" [1].

Indeed, the malignity and effrontery of demons are boundless, so as even to impel them beyond the limits of decency with respect to the fair. "Dreams of intercourse with spectres" [2] are, in fact, mentioned regularly in medical works among the symptoms of female diseases, thus pointing to a great frequency and a generality of such visions, which, as all dreams of spirits, pass for actual apparitions.

Authors discoursing with the usual Chinese subtlety on such female hallucination, generally ascribe it, like most forms of mental derangement, to a diffusion of the influences of the blood. The blood being identified with the shen, the diffusion of its influences must needs cause the shen to loosen its hold on the body, the viscera, and the other principal internal organs, and to leave them partly or entirely, thus affording ample opportunity to the sié to nestle in those organs in its stead. The patient indulges then in obstinate taciturnity or soliloquy; she has hysterical laughing and wailing fits with alternate acceleration and abatement of her pulses — altogether symptoms of sui or demonry.

---

[1] 俄二小鬼挾都監母從房出。畏或傷害乃拾弓箭奪救之、呼諸子僕妻爲助、子無一應。回視屋下、則一家人盡死覺尸地上、每身帶一箭、皆適所射者。老幼二十人唯子母兩人存。驚痛幾絶、吏走報府、府帥遣僚屬來視、咸怪愕無策、但爲買棺收斂。留一宿將出殯、偶啓便室取物、見一家聚坐其中、元不死、渾如夢寐。扣其始末、昧無知覺。于是揭棺、各貯箕箒桶杓之類耳。急徙他所而空厥居. *Tsing i ki* 旌異記 or Expositor of the Strange, a booklet with nine tales by Heu Kiün-su 侯君素 of the Sung dynasty.

[2] 婦人夢與鬼交.

Another symptom of such hysterical derangement is fear of men. It victimizes especially widows and nuns, and no doubt also affects old maids, but these are rather rarities in the Empire. In many cases the matter results in "demoniacal pregnancy" [1], a real bugbear of superstitious petticoats. A gynecologist of the thirteenth century of our era wrote: "If a lady's viscera and chief vitals are in har- "mony mutually, the influences of her blood are abundant and "compact, and her vital spirits are so solid and flourishing that "neither the sié of winds, nor evil spirits can hurt her. But if the "influences of her blood are void and impaired, her vital spirits "will suffer of debility and weakness, and spectres of whatever kind "will occupy her person. If they enter her viscera, the woman seems "to be in the family way, which [is a] condition called demoniacal "pregnancy" [2].

Not all authors, however, are so convinced of demonish fecundation in cases of apparent pregnancy. In an authoritative work of the sixteenth century we read the following lines:

"The question is put sometimes what demoniacal pregnancy is. "The answer is as follows: Things thought of in the daytime "become visions in the night, and so it is a rule that, if men and "women be of lewd disposition, idle, and unoccupied, the fire in "their liver and their kidneys flames up at any moment, with the "result that, if they are timorous, they dream frequently of inter- "course with spectres. So demoniacal pregnancy is unreal preg- "nancy, by no means a pregnancy produced by actual fecundation "by spectres. An ancient recipe says: Where lewd thoughts are "boundless, wishes (for children) remain unfulfilled. It is white fluid "of lewdness and white foul liquid which, flowing in the uterus, "curdle therein and make such pregnancy; it is the blood of the "woman herself and her semen which curdle and form a lump

---

[1] 鬼胎.

[2] 夫人臟腑調和則血氣充實、精神健旺、風邪鬼魅不能干之。若榮衛虛損、精神衰弱、妖魅之類乘之。內入於臟、亦如懷妊之狀、故曰鬼胎也.
*Fu-jen ta ts'üen liang fang* 婦人大全良方, Large and Complete Collection of efficacious Recipes for married Women, art. 鬼胎. This work was written by Ch'en Tszĕ-ming 陳自明, also named Liang-fu 良父, who finished it about the year 1237. It contains 24 chapters with more than 260 articles distributed under eight sections, besides a large number of recipes.

"that puffs up her breast and her abdomen, and filling these, "makes her look as if she were in the family way.

"But if it proves to be no unreal pregnancy, what then have "we to think of it? Well, in Hwah Poh-jen's work, entitled The "Efficacy of Medicines, I have found the following lines: In the "temple of Benevolence and Filial Respect the only daughter of "the Invoker attached to the building, named Yang T'ien-ch'ing, "strolled through the side-gallery in the dim shadows of evening, "and saw a spirit in yellow dress. She experienced an agitation of "feeling, and that same night she dreamed that she had sexual "commerce with that spirit. Her abdomen distended, and she had "all the symptoms of being in the family way, when Poh-jen was "asked to treat her. He examined her, and said: 'this is a case of "demoniacal pregnancy', and her mother having related to him all "about the cause of it, he cured her by causing her to evacuate "by means of blood-breaking and abortive drugs more than two "pints of tadpoles, porwiggles, and fish-eyes. Had she not had any "real sexual commerce with that spirit? Such commerce may have "taken place indeed, but there are no reasons to admit that it "actually did, for how would it be possible for an image made "of wood and clay to indulge in coition with a human person, "and to possess semen which may produce fecundation? Ah, no "ghost seduced by a woman was in question here, but a woman "bewildered by a ghost. My opinion is, that that girl, advanced in "years and yet without a mate, was one of those of whom we "might say: where lewd thoughts have no bounds, wishes (for "children) remain unfulfilled. Scholars imbued with correct principles, "beware of believing in the errors of such heterodox stories!" [1]

---

[1] 或問婦人懷鬼胎者何歟。曰、晝之所思爲夜之所見、凡男女之性姪而虛者則肝腎之相火無時不起、故勞怯之人多夢與鬼交。夫所謂鬼胎者僞胎也、非實有鬼神交接而成胎也。古方有云、思想無窮、所願不遂。爲白淫白濁流於子宮結爲鬼胎、乃本婦自己之血液淫精聚結成塊而胸腹脹滿、儼若胎孕耳。

非僞胎而何哉。曰、嘗閱滑伯仁醫驗謂、仁孝廟廟祝楊天成一女薄暮遊廟廡、見黃衣神。覺

Thus Yü Poh, who wrote those lines, seems to ascribe demoniacal pregnancy to an abnormal stagnation of menstruation. Medical authors may often subscribe to this opinion, yet we regularly find in their long lists of recipes against the evil certain mysterious "spectre-beheading medicine" [1] — a strong evidence that leechcraft in China is still very far from having disentangled itself from the old and common belief that demons cause such pregnancies, and that means to expel them or to scare them away from women they have fecundated, may prove efficacious.

Thus far for the wisdom displayed on the subject by China's medical men. Naturally the unlearned show still less readiness to disbelieve the reality of clandestine intercourse of spectres with men. That animal-demons and plant-devils often commit such sins, we have seen from many instances in our chapters on those beings; we have also seen (pp. 603 and 605) that women copulating with animal-demons have produced children. Many stories relating to such commerce are abroad, and traceable in books. Thus we read, that "one T'an Sheng of the Han dynasty was forty years old, "and always nervous, having no wife. Engaged in reading the "*Shi king*, he sat up till past midnight, when a girl of fifteen "or sixteen, with a countenance so attractive and clothes so "nice, that the world had never seen her match, approached, "and spoke with him as if they were a married couple. 'I am "not like others', she said; 'you must not let any light shine on "me until after three years'. They became husband and wife, and

---

心動、是夕夢與之交。腹漸大而若孕、邀伯仁治。診之、曰、此鬼胎也、其母道其由、與破血墮胎之藥下如蝌蚪魚目者二升許、遂安。此非遇神交乎。曰、有是事而實無是理、豈有土木爲形能與人交而有精成胎之理。噫非神之惑於女、乃女之惑於神耳。意度此女年長無夫、正所謂思想無窮、所願不遂也。有道之士勿信乎邪說之惑焉. *I hioh ching ch'wen* 醫學正傳, Correct Traditions on Medicine, art. 鬼胎. This is a work in eight chapters, based especially on the doctrines of the school of Chu Chen-heng, Sun Szĕ-moh, Chang Ki, and others. It was finished in 1515 by Yü Poh 虞博, also named T'ien-min 天民.

[1] 斬鬼丹.

"she bore him a child, but when two years had passed away, the "goodman could not repress his curiosity any longer. The night "came, and waiting till she was asleep, he stole to her with a light, "and saw that everything above her waist was flesh like a human "being, but that her lower parts were mere dry bones. At this "moment the woman awoke from her sleep. 'You had no regard "for me', she said; 'I had descended into life; why, instead of "suppressing your impatience for one year more, did you throw "light upon me?' Sheng apologized with a flood of tears, which "he could not restrain, while she went on to say: 'We have lived "together so long with the strictest observance of duty, but now "we must separate for ever. Our baby occupies my mind; were "you to become poor, it would not be able to live; come with "me for some moments, I have something for you'. And he "accompanied her into a decorated hall, with rooms and apartments "the furniture of which was not that of this life. Here she handed "to him a gown stitched with pearls, with the words: 'it may "serve you for your sustenance'; then tearing a lapel from his robe, "she left him alone, and vanished.

"Afterwards Sheng took the gown to the bazaar, where one of the "family of the prince of Tsü-yang bought it from him for ten "million coins. The prince recognized it; 'this is my daughter's "gown', he said, 'how could it be found in the bazaar? to be sure, "that man has exhumed her body'. And he arrested and tortured "Sheng, who told him the whole truth; still the Prince disbelieved "him. He went to the grave, and found it in its former good con- "dition; he opened it, and saw a lapel of a robe under the coffin lid; "he called the child, and saw that it bore a close resemblance "to his daughter. Now he believed everything. He called T'an Sheng, "gave him back the gown, and adopted him as his son-in-law, "bestowing upon the child the title of Intendant of his Gate "and Doors" [1].

---

[1] 漢談生者年四十、無婦、常感激。讀詩經、夜半有女子、年可十五六、姿顏服飾天下無雙、來就生爲夫婦之言。曰、我與人不同、勿以火照我也、三年之後方可照耳。與爲夫婦、生一兒、已二歲不能忍。夜伺其寢後盜照視之、其腰已上生肉如人、腰已下但有枯骨。婦覺。遂言曰、君

After all, we cannot help feeling astonished at having found nothing in Chinese books which points to an ascription of monstrous births to impregnation of the mothers by spectres. It seems however a fact, that monsters are called spectres; we have seen an instance hereof on page 520. It is recounted in the *Tszĕ puh yü*, that "Ching Joh-shi, a lowest rank literary graduate in Shao-hing, was "presented by his wife, a woman of the Wei family, with a "yaksha, blue over its whole body, with a wide mouth gaping "upward; its eyes were round, its nose contracted, its mouth "pointed, and its hair red; moreover it had cock-spurs and horse-"hoofs. On falling out of the vagina it bit the midwife in her "finger. The graduate was so affrighted that he seized a knife "to kill it, and the yaksha made gestures to defend itself for "some time before it expired. Its blood was quite blue. The "mother died with fright" [1].

Spectres do not visit men exclusively to satisfy their sexual lust, but also because of their appetite for food. Indeed, no spirits, including the ghosts of the dead, can subsist without eating and drinking, or without clothing and money; they therefore are always

---

負我、我垂生矣、何不能忍一歲而竟相照也。生辭謝、涕泣不可復止、云與君雖大義永離、然顧念我兒、若貧不能自偕活者、暫隨我去、方還君物。生隨之去、入華堂室宇、器物不凡。以一珠袍與之、曰可以自給、裂取生衣裾、留之而去。

後生持袍詣市、睢陽王家買之、得錢千萬。王識之、曰、是我女袍、那得在市、此必發冢。乃取拷之、生具以實對、王猶不信。乃視女冢、冢完如故、發視之、棺蓋下果得衣裾、呼其兒視正類王女。王乃信之。卽召談生、復賜還衣、以爲女婿、表其兒爲郎中. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 16.

[1] 紹興鄭若時秀才妻衛氏生一夜叉、通體藍色、口豁向上、環眼縮鼻尖嘴紅髮雞距駱蹄。落胎卽已咬傷收生婆手指。秀才大懼、持刀殺之、夜叉作格鬬狀良久乃斃。血色皆青。其母亦驚死. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 23.

abroad in search of food and drink, generally hungry and thirsty, or even in a state of semi-starvation. We might expect to find them simply represented as satiating themselves furtively and quietly with the food of men, even without the latter perceiving it, since ghosts merely consume invisible ethereal parts of food; yet the common opinion is, that they do not touch any eatables or dainties, unless formally set aside for them by way of sacrifice.

Man in his own interest and safety frequently presents them with such offerings. He knows well that he can never do this often enough, spectres being unlimited in number; however liberally he spends in their behalf the good things he has, there always remain not a few perverse enough to spy out opportunities to harm him for no other purpose than to extort such gifts. Needless to say, such spectres are the miscreants among their class, transgressors of the great law that they are not entitled to harry mankind unless Heaven has affixed its consent or approval (see page 432). Hence, should they push this evil work too far and display too much impudence, they run the great risk that man, in his anxiety and despair, should hurry to the temple of the God of Walls and Moats, charged by Heaven with ruling the spectral world in that department or district, and that this god should have them caught, arraigned before his tribunal, flogged, or otherwise tortured, and even executed. Many tales describe this divine jurisprudence, and food-extorting spectres themselves have likewise been a frequent topic for fabulists. The following tale is drawn from a book of the fifth century:

"A ghost of a recently deceased man, lean and weak, happened "to see that of a friend who had died twenty years ago, and "which was fat and strong. 'What is the matter with you?' the "latter asked, after mutual compliments. 'I am so hungry that "I can hardly bear it; if you know any help for it, it is your "duty to tell me'. The friendly ghost then said: 'this is very "easy: haunt men; they will get afraid and give you to eat'. The "spectre went, and found a house. There was there a white dog; "he took it up and made it move through the air, and the family "saw this with great fright, and exclaimed that such a miracle had "never occurred. The oracle declared: 'A strange spectre begs for "food; kill the dog, sacrifice it to the spectre in the courtyard, "together with some sweet fruits, spirits and rice, and nothing else will "happen'. The family followed the advice of the diviner, and the "spectre really got great quantities of food to eat. Since that time

"it regularly haunted the people, as the other spectre had advised "it to do" [1].

To give now some tales of modern date:

"Yin Yueh-heng, living in Hang-chou outside the north-east gate, "returned home from the Sand-river rapid with half a pound of "water-chestnuts in his bosom. The road took him past the lake "of the Alms-bowl through a sparsely populated, uncultivated place "with graveyards free to the public, containing numerous tumuli. "Here he felt that the contents of his bosom lost their weight "and the parcel got loose; he felt for his chestnuts, and found "they were gone. He returned to seek them, and found them in "the cemetery, peeled and broken to pieces, on the top of a grave. "He picked them up, put them in his bosom, and hurried home.

"However ere he had eaten them to the last he became ill, "and loudly exclaimed: 'We had not tasted any water-chestnuts "for a long time and wanted yours to satisfy our constant desire "for them, but you took them all away again; why were you "so stingy? there we are in your own house; we shall not "leave it until we have eaten our full'. The family was greatly "affrighted, and immediately set out food, to redeem the guilt of "their headman [2].

---

[1] 有新死鬼、形疲瘦、頓忽見生時友人死及二十年、肥健。相問訊曰、卿那爾。曰、吾飢餓殆不自任、卿知諸方便故當以法見教。友鬼云、此甚易耳、但爲人作怪、人必大怖、當與卿食。新鬼往得一家。有一白狗、便抱令空中行、其家見之大驚、言自來未有此怪。占云、有客鬼素食、可殺狗、并甘果酒飯於庭中祀之、可得無他。其家如師言、鬼果大得食。自此後恒作怪、友鬼之教也. *Yiu ming luh*, quoted in K K, ch. 321.

[2] 尹月恒住杭州艮山門外、自沙河灘歸、懷菱半斤。路經鉢盂潭、人稀、地曠、有義塚數堆。覺懷內輕鬆、探所買菱、已失去矣。因轉身尋、至義塚見菱肉剖碎並聚塚尖。尹復拾至懷內、踉蹌歸家。

食未竟而病、大作喊云、吾等不嘗菱肉久矣、

"It is a custom among the people in Hang-cheu, whenever they "see spectres out, for one person to walk ahead of them out of "the gate, while another comes behind and shuts the gate. This "family too followed this rule, but closed the door too hastily, and "at this moment Yin Yueh-heng loudly cried: 'When you have "guests, you must treat them with respect; now you shut the "door so hurriedly before we have got outside, that my leg is "pinched in it; I cannot stand the pain; if you do not prepare "another great meal and invite me to it, I will never leave your "house'. So the family had to exorcise them again by means "of prayers and sacrifices, on which Yin somewhat recovered. Then "sometimes he was better, while at other times his disease recur- "red, but he did not escape them, and finally died of the con- "sequences" [1].

— "A thief of the Ts'ih tribe did his business with the greatest "refinement, but had in the end stolen so often that he feared he "had everybody on his track; therefore he settled in a tumble- "down house, beside a burial ground free to the public. Here "quite a number of spectres haunted him in a dream. 'If you "properly sacrifice to us', they said, 'we shall make you rich'; and "Ts'ih promised in that dream that he would do so. But on waking "he considered that it was nonsense to keep that promise, and "did nothing.

"Then again the spectres appeared before him in a dream. 'You "must sacrifice to us in three days', they said, 'or we shall snatch "away from you in broad daylight what you have stolen at night'. "Ts'ih could not help giving in, but again on waking he sacrificed "nothing. But then after three days he became severely ill. He

---

欲借以解宿饑、汝必盡数取回、何吝嗇若是、今吾等至汝家、非飽食不去。其家懼、即供飯爲主人贖罪。

[1] 杭俗例凡送鬼者前人送出門、後人把門閉。其家循此例、閉門過急、尹復大聲云、汝請客當恭敬、今吾等猶未走而汝門驟閉、夾壞我腿、痛苦難禁、非再大烹請我、則吾永不出汝門矣。因復祈禳、尹病稍安然。旋好旋發、不脫體、卒以此亡. *Tsze puh yü*, ch. 6

"told his wife to see after his things, whether the spectres did "what they had threatened to do, and lo, with the sun in the "zenith those things suddenly moved from their place, as if trans- "ported by mysterious hands. Ts'ih would rise from his sickbed "and catch them, but his hands and feet were as if fettered, and "not until the things were all gone did his bonds relax, and he "recovered from his illness. His mind was now cleared up entirely, "and smilingly he said: 'I have burned sorrow-incense (?) to stupify "others, but now it is I whom spectres stupify; these here are the "broad daylight spectres which people talk of'. From that moment "he altered his conduct, and became an honest man" [1].

A good trick of a spectre to obtain worship and sacrificial food is related in the following tale: "An officer of the Imperial Guards, "fond of racing and shooting, while pursuing a hare at the eastern gate "of the city pushed an old man, who was stooping down to draw "water, into the well by his horse, which he could not stop in its "rapid course. In great consternation he rode home, in all haste. "That night he saw the old man push open the gate and enter. "'You did not kill me intentionally', he said with a curse, "'but if you had called people to the rescue when you saw me "fall into the well, my life might have been saved; why did it "occur to you to hurry away to your house!' The officer had nothing "to say; so the old man set to smashing his Chinaware, destroying "his doors, and doing other bad work incessantly. The whole family "prayed to him on their knees and set out offerings, and even "celebrated sacrificial masses, but the spectre said: 'All those things "are of no use; if you want to keep me quiet, you should carve

---

[1] 有倫兒戚姓、伎最工、攫取漸多、恐跡之者衆、因就義冢旁敗屋居焉。有數鬼見夢。曰、若宜祀我會且致富、戚于夢中諾之。覺以爲妄、亡何。鬼復見夢。曰、三日內祀我、出三日則若干夜間所倫予能白日取之。戚倔强、覺而不祭。三日後果大病。命其妻檢視諸物、徵鬼言驗否、時日亭午諸物忽自移動、若隱隱有運之者。欲起奪之、手足如縛、物盡而縛解、戚病亦痊。乃大悟、笑曰、我燒悶香迷人、今乃爲鬼所迷、世俗所稱白日鬼其斯之謂歟。自此改行爲善. *Tszĕ puh yū*, ch. 23.

"a soul-tablet of wood for me, write my name and surname upon "it, and sacrifice every day pigs' feet to me; treat me as if I were "an ancestor of yours, and I shall forgive you'. They did so, and "the result was that the spectral work ceased.

"From that time, whenever he had to pass by the eastern "gate of the city, he took a circuitous road, in order to avoid "that well. Once passing by it while in the cortege of the "emperor, he would have absconded in the former wise, but for "his general, who said: 'If the emperor asks where you are, "what shall we say? besides, what have you to fear of spectres "under the blue heaven in broad daylight, in the presence of a "thousand cars and a myriad of horsemen?' And the officer could "not help passing by the well. There he saw the old man in the "same shape standing beside it, who rushed forward, grasped his "coat, and said with a curse: 'Aha, to-day I find you here; some "years ago you ran against me with your horse, and did not help "me; how could you find that in your heart!' He reviled him, "and even beat him, and the officer, in fear and agitation, moaningly "supplicated, saying: 'How shall I excuse myself? but you have "accepted sacrifices in my house for years, and in your own person "promised to pardon me; why do you now use such different "language?' These words increased the fury of the old man; 'I was "not yet dead', said he, 'why then did you sacrifice to me? I was "pushed into the well by your horse, but a passer-by hearing "my cries for help immediately hauled me up; how then can you "take me for a ghost?' Now in the utmost fright, the officer took "the old man to his house, and there they saw that the inscription "on the soul-tablet was not his name. The old man tucked up his "sleeves; ejaculating a curse, he flung the tablet down and scat-"tered the sacrificial articles on the ground; and while the whole "family stood aghast, quite at a loss what to think of it, a loud "laughter was heard in mid air, and passed out of the house" [1].

---

[1] 某侍衛好馳射、逐兎東直門、有翁蹲而汲水、馬逸不止、撦翁于井。某大懼急奔歸家。是夜則見此翁排闥入。罵云、爾雖無心殺我、然見我落井、喚人救我、尚有活理、何乃忍心潛逃竟歸家耶。某無以答、翁卽毀器壞戶、作祟不已。舉家跪求、爲設齋醮、鬼曰、無益也、欲我安寧、須刻

— "Su Tan-lao in Hang-cheu was a glib-tongued fellow, a mocker, "generally hated. On New year's day they painted the spirit of plague "on a piece of paper and affixed this to his door. Opening the door "at sunrise, he saw the picture, and with loud laughter took it into "his house; he invited it to take a seat, drank some spirits in "company with it, and burned it. In that year there was a violent "outbreak of plague. The sick among his neighbours on all sides "rivalled one another in sacrificing to the spirit of the plague, and "some among them, made ill (possessed) by it, spoke in the voice "of the demon: 'On New year's day I have received worship from "Su Tan-lao, and to my shame I have found no opportunity yet "of requiting him; those who wish to avert me must invite him "to keep company with me, and then I shall depart'. Now those "who sacrificed to the spectre of the plague vied with each other "in inviting Su, who was thus every day busily eating and drinking "as much as he could. Not one in his family, which consisted of "more than ten persons of various ages, caught the plague"[1]. Thus

---

木爲主、寫我姓名于上、每日以豚蹄享我、當作祖宗待我、方饒汝。如其言、祟爲之止。

自此過東直門必紆道而避此井。後扈從聖駕當過東直門、仍欲紆道走、其總管斥之曰、倘上問汝何在、將何詞以對、況青天白日千乘萬騎何畏鬼耶。某不得已仍過井所。則見老翁宛然立井邊、奔前牽衣、罵曰、我今日尋着汝矣、汝前年馬衝我而不救、何忍心耶。且詈且毆之、某驚遽哀懇曰、我罪何辭、但翁已在我家受祭數年、曾面許寬我、何以又改前言。翁更怒曰、吾未死、何需汝祭我、雖爲馬所衝失脚落井、後有過者聞我呼救、登時曳出、爾何得疑我爲鬼。某大駭卽拉翁同至其家、共觀木主所書者非其姓名。翁攘臂、罵取木主擲之、撒所供物于地、舉家惶愕、不解其故、聞空中有聲大笑而去. *Tsze puh yū*, ch. 2.

[1] 杭州蘇虓老性滑稽善嘲人、人惡之。元旦畫疫神一紙、壓其門。虓老晨出開門、見而大笑、迎疫神歸、延之上座、與共飲酒而燒化之。是年

spectres extort food not only for themselves, but also for their friends among men.

The tricks used by spectres to obtain food then vary in character and in the amount of shrewdness which they display; yet other tales state, that it is not unusual for spectres to tell by the mouths of patients whom they possess, what sort of food they desire, what kind and what quantity of mock money, and in what place they wish these things handed over to them. These demands having been fulfilled by the family, the sufferer either recovers, or he utters new demands, his delirious talk, incomprehensible to common ears, being interpreted by experts of either sex. Not seldom the spectre declares itself to be a soul from some neglected grave in the neighbourhood, where then the family set down the offerings. Truth requires us to say, that spectres do not always prove ungrateful for the food which they extort. We have even read of some who, out of mere gratitude, rendered women pregnant of sons by placing into their wombs souls purchased somewhere with the paper money which those women had burned for them.

In our systematization of the world of spectres we might have introduced an important special article on mischievous ghosts of the dead. But we have already treated of these spectres in various chapters, as ghosts of the drowned (pp. 525 *sqq.*), as victims of tigers (pp. 554 *sqq.*) and of self-murderers (ch. IX), as living corpses and vampires (ch. X), as ghosts appearing at death (ch. XII), as avengers of wrong done to them while alive or after death (Part I, ch. XVI), or as devils of drought (Book I, pp. 918 *sqq.*). As the dead contribute so large a contingent to the spectre-legions, it is natural that in China graves and cemeteries in particular are places where apparitions occur, and which on this account are dangerous for the living, especially when the sun has set. A tale may show what awful things may befall men there:

"In the district of Yen-shi in Honan, a woman of the tribe Sih, "wife of the villager Chang Yuen, returned home from a visit to

---

大疫。四鄰病者爭祀疫神、其病人輒作神語曰、我元旦受蘇虬老禮敬、愧無以報、欲禳我者必請蘇君陪我、我方去。于是祀疫神者爭先請蘇、蘇逐日奔忙困于酒食。其家大小十餘口無一病者. *Tsze puh yü*, ch. 2.

"her mother. Her husband's brother came to meet her on the "road. The road led them past an old grave with a shadowy tree. "Here the woman desired to relieve herself; she gave her brother-"in-law her donkey to hold, hung her red linen petticoat on the tree, "and returned to this garment when she had finished, but it was "gone. Then at home she passed the night in bed with her "husband. The morning came and they did not rise; the family "tapped at the door and entered, and though the windows were "in their proper state, the bodies of man and wife were there, but "without their heads.

"The magistrate, informed of the case, found it impossible "to give a verdict. He arrested the brother of the husband and "examined him, and as this man related the loss of the petti-"coat on the day before, the mandarin repaired to the grave. He "discovered a cave beside it, with a smooth path showing that "some being was wont to go in and out, and on careful inspection "he saw a red linen petticoat outside the cave, the same which "had belonged to that sister-in-law. On digging up the grave, they "found the two heads in it, but no coffin, the cave being very "narrow, not larger than an arm. The mandarin could not possibly "pass any sentence" [1].

---

[1] 河南偃師縣鄉人張元妻薛氏歸寧母家反。小叔迎之。路過古墓、樹木陰森。薛氏將溲焉、牽所乘驢與小叔使視之而挂所衣紅布裙于樹、溲畢反裙、失所在。歸家與夫宿。侵晨不起、家人撞門入、窓牖宛然而夫婦有身無首。

告之官不能理。拘小叔訊之、具道昨日失裙事、迹至墓所。墓旁有穴、滑溜如常有物出入者、窺之紅布裙帶在外、卽其嫂物。掘之、兩首具在、並無棺槨、穴甚小、僅容一手。官竟不能讞也。 *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 2.

---

# CHAPTER XV.

## THE WORLD OF SPECTRES A COPY OF THAT OF MEN.

The chapters which we have devoted to spectres and ghosts, and to the ways in which they work upon the fate of man, have brought out on many a page the fact that they lead an existence remarkably analogous to that of man. They appear and haunt in shapes almost, or quite, as material as his. They speak as man, cherish human affections and grudges, have human appetites and lusts, and indulge in sexual intercourse as well with men as among themselves. They fight like men, using weapons; they combine into gangs and troops, even forming well equipped armies, and may be fought and warded off with human spears, swords and arrows. They use money, live on human food and drink, and dress as men do; in short, man in China has modelled his spectres in almost every respect after his own likeness and image.

Is it surprising then that popular imagination ascribes to spectres also a social life hardly different from the human? As early as the sixth century before our era, as the lines show which we have extracted from the *Tso ch'wen* on page 411, the power and influence of a spectre were deemed, just as in China's human society, to be proportional to the numbers and might of the clan to which it had belonged on this earth and of which it remained a member after death; which also points to belief in the continuity of family-life and clan-life beyond the present. The homes of those clans were situated in special "regions of k w e i, spectres or ghosts"[1], the real sites of which were, of course, never determined. In the *Yih king* we read, that a line of a k w a called 既濟 signifies: "Kao Tsung attacking the spectre-regions, and defeating them in three years"[2], and that the k w a named 未濟 has a line suggesting the idea of

[1] 鬼方.

[2] 高宗伐鬼方、三年克之. Chapter 8.

"a movement to attack a spectre-region, producing beneficial effects on the Great Realm in three years" [1]. These passages refer professedly to an old tradition according to which Kao Tsung or Wu Ting, a monarch believed to have reigned in the fourteenth century b.C. (see Book I, p. 480), led his troops against some remote barbarian country. This tradition is preserved in the Annals of the Bamboo Book, in these words: "In the 32nd year of his reign he attacked "the spectre-regions and camped in King, and in the 34th year "the royal armies conquered those countries" [2]. It is worth observing in this connection, that to this day the Chinese show remarkable fondness for styling foreigners k w e i. In the *Shi king* too mention is made of regions of k w e i in an ode which makes king Wen, the founder of the Cheu dynasty, say of the dethroned last sovereign of the house of Shang: "Indignation is rife in the Middle Kingdom, which extends even over the spectre-regions" [3]. A spectre-realm [4], inhabited by one-eyed beings with human faces, is mentioned in the *Shan-hai king*, which places it among the northern countries between the seas, its notices on which form the twelfth chapter, the North being indeed the region of the Y i n or cold and darkness with which spectres are assimilated.

Ma Twan-lin devoted some lines to a realm of that name, which he described among the countries in the extreme north. "It lies "sixty days' travelling from the kingdom of Kiao-ma. Its inhabitants "roam about in the night, but hide themselves during the day. "They dress in dirty pieces (?) of deerskin. Their eyes, noses and ears "are like those of the people in the Middle Kingdom, but they "have their mouths on the top of their heads. They eat from "earthenware dishes. There is no rice in their country, and they "live upon deerskin and horses of the country (or earth-horses?). "Thirty days travelling from the south of that realm takes one "to that of the Tuh-küeh" [5].

---

1 震用伐鬼方、三年有賞于大國. *Ibid.*

2 武丁三十二年伐鬼方、次于荊、三十四年王師克鬼方.

3 內䜌于中國、覃及鬼方. Sect. 大雅, III, ode 1.

4 鬼國.

5 鬼國在駮馬國西六十日行。其國人夜遊、晝隱身。著渾剎鹿皮衣。眼鼻耳與中國人相同、口

In those mysterious countries, never obliterated from people's fancy and memory, spectres and ghosts carried on regular trading business, even having for the purpose special markets or bazaars. This idea may have easily arisen from the existence of markets among tribes of mountaineers whom Chinese fancy converted into spectres. The official Histories of the T'ang dynasty inform us, that "there are, at the Western Sea, markets where traders, without "seeing each other, put down beside the merchandise the price "which they offer; those places are called spectre-markets" [1]. And a work of later date says: "On the sea-coasts spectre-markets "are kept, where people congregate at midnight, to separate at "cock-crow; men often obtain thence curious articles" [2]. It may be observed that rolling thunder in distant, dark clouds is to the present day often called a demon-market.

It is from that region that, under the cover of night, hosts of devils swarm out regularly through imaginary gates, dubbed spectre-gates [3]. Thus we read, "in the daytime those gates are not open, but "at sunset human voices sound there, and a colour as of blue fire "then beams forth from them" [4]. Mention is made of a spectre-gate in the south, in a spot forming at one time the farthest confine of the empire in that direction: "Thirty miles in a southerly direction "from the district city of Poh-liu (in the south-eastern part of "Kwangsi) two rocks stand opposite one another at a distance of thirty "paces. The people call them the spectre-gate pass. The way of the "general Ma Yuen of the Han dynasty, the Queller of the Waves, "on his expedition against the Man of Lin-yih, lay through it; "he erected there a stone tablet (commemorative of this event),

---

在頂上。食用瓦器。土無米粟、啖鹿皮及地駿。爲國南三十日行至突厥. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 348, f. 18.

1 西海有市、貿易不相見置直物旁、名鬼市. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 221, II, f. 18.

2 海邊有鬼市、半夜而合、雞鳴而散、人從之多得異物. *Pi shu man ch'ao* 避暑漫抄, Desultory Writings during a Summer Retreat, a little book which I have not seen, probably written in the Wan lih period (1573—1620) by Tan Siu 談修. We quote from the *Pei wen yun fu*, ch. 34, I, f. 146.

3 鬼門.

4 鬼門晝日不開、至暮卽有人語有青火色. *Shen i king*.

"of which the (pedestal in the shape of a) stone tortoise still exists. "In times gone by, travellers to Kiao-chi (Cochin-China) all used to "pass through this gate. Southward from it malaria is so prevalent "that those who depart hence seldom return alive. It is a common "saying that nine men out of ten never return through the spectre-"gate pass" [1].

It seems that this pass owed its lugubrious name merely to a play on words or to a mistake, it being not, in fact, called gate of the kwei or spectres, but gate of the kwei 桂, or Cassia tree. And these old names have been superseded a long time ago by one of good omen. "According to the *Yü-tʿi ki shing*, the pass "of the kwei-tree gate was in the beginning incorrectly called "that of the spectre-gate. In the first year of the Hung wu "period of the Ming dynasty (1368) its name was changed into "kwei-tree pass, which was replaced again in the Süen teh "period (1426—1436) by that of pass of the gate of Heaven" [2].

In the remote spectre-countries, according to an old tradition, the inhabitants were engendered by a mysterious being, called Kwei mu [3], the Mother of Spectres. "In the South sea regions a "mother of spectres lives in the Lesser Yü mountains. She gives "birth to all the kwei that live in heaven and on earth. At every "litter she brings forth ten, which, born in the morning, she "devours in the evening. She is the shen who, under the name "of Spectre-lady, exists in Tsʿang-wu (*i. e.* the region about the "spectre-gate pass). She has a tiger's head, feet like a dragon,

---

1 北流縣南三十里有兩石相對、其間闊三十步。俗號鬼門關。漢伏波將軍馬援討林邑蠻路由於此、立碑、石龜尚在。昔時趨交趾皆由此關。其南尤多瘴癘、去者罕得生還。諺曰鬼門關十人九不還. Old Books of the Tʿang Dynasty, ch. 41, l. 70.

That pass seems to be frequently confounded with a spectre-gate pass 鬼門關 across the Annam frontier, to the south of Langson city, where a temple to Ma Yuen stands, or formerly stood. Comp. Devéria, "La Frontière Sino-Annamite", pp. 19 and 77.

2 輿地紀勝云、本桂門關訛稱鬼門關。明洪武初改爲桂門關、宣德中改天門關, T S, sect. 職方, ch. 1434 and 1431.

3 鬼母.

"eyes of a python snake, and eyebrows of a kiao dragon. In Wu "and Yueh (Kiangsu, Chehkiang and Fuhkien) her image of clay "or wood is placed in the temples erected as a security against "tempests; it has a dragon's head, a cow's ears, and connected "eye-brows, placed over one single eye" [1].

This mother of spectres seems, however, to be an exotic invention, imported at an early date, and playing a part in China's Buddhist religion. We shall therefore have to pay attention to her in some later volume.

Apart from those and some other legends, spectre-tales in general prove decisively that the demon-world in China has been thought at all times to exist in conjunction with that of men. It has its kwei wang[2] or "spectre-kings", and in Fuhkien it is a general custom among the people in accosting spectres, to cajolingly style them *kúi óng*, which is the local form of kwei wang. In particular, however, spectres and ghosts are, somewhat later than the beginning of our era, placed by popular imagination under the sway of a divinity residing in Shantung, in the T'ai-shan[3] or Great Mountain, also styled Tung-yoh[4] or Eastern Mountain. He exercises justice especially over the ghosts of the dead, arraigning them for the purpose before his tribunal, and torturing and punishing them, his court being in consequence actually a hell. Or they may be haled before his coadjutors, the Ch'ing-hwang shen[5] or Gods of Walls and Moats. These divinities officiate in the walled towns of the empire, on a par with the mandarins who serve the Son of Heaven there. Each such town possesses a temple where the god is deemed to hold court and to wield the sceptre over the spirits within the same jurisdiction where the highest local officer residing in the town exercises terrestrial sway. The God of the Eastern Mountain likewise has a temple in most cities. These buildings are resorts for all who desire protection against evil spirits, and the gods residing therein accordingly are local patron-divinities with a para-

---

[1] 南海小虞山中有鬼母。能產天地鬼。一產十鬼、朝產之暮食之。今蒼梧有鬼姑神是也。虎頭龍足蟒目蛟眉。今吳越間防風廟土木作其形、龍首牛耳連眉一目. *Shuh i ki*, I.

[2] 鬼王.

[3] 太山.

[4] 東嶽.

[5] 城隍神.

mount place in China's religious life. We are not concerned with them as yet; it is sufficient to state here that a number of spectres are thought to be devils in their service, sent out to arrest souls and hale them before their tribunals for examination, cruel torture, and bloody punishment (cf. 776).

The comparison of the Chinese world of spectres with that of men may be drawn out still farther. We know already (see page 476) that spectres possess armies which occasionally attack man, in order to destroy his welfare; but apart from this, their society has its regular internal strifes, wars and battles. We read on this head, that "seventy "miles northward from Ping-cheu, an old grave was besieged every "evening in the first year of the Ching kwan period (A.D. 627) "by more than ten thousand spectral soldiers with banners and "standards, fresh and clean. Then that grave poured forth instantly "several thousand ghostly infantry and cavalry, joining with the "besiegers in a hot battle beside the grave, and not until it was "night did the two parties withdraw. This had gone on for about "a month, when one evening there appeared yet another army "from the north, upward of ten thousand spectres strong. They "had just arrayed their ranks a few miles from the grave, when "a farmer saw them, and took to his heels in consternation. A com-"mander of the spectres ordered some ten of his men to catch him, and "on his being brought before him, addressed him in these terms: "'Have no fear; I am a shen of the Gobi desert, robbed by an "subordinate commander of my favourite concubine, with whom he "has eloped into this grave, and the lord Chang, whose burial place "this is, employs soldiery to fight us" [1].

Thus spirits also have consorts of their own kind; which, in fact, the reader knows from many of our tales. It is in truth an established tenet, brought into prominence by our chapter on

---

[1] 并州北七十里有一古塚、貞觀初每至日夕卽有鬼兵萬餘旗旛鮮潔圍繞此塚。須臾塚中又出鬼兵數千步騎、相雜于塚傍力戰、夜卽各退。如此近及一月、忽一夕復有鬼兵萬餘自北而至。去塚數里而陣、一耕夫見之驚走。有一鬼將令十餘人檛之、至前謂曰、爾勿懼、我瀚海神也、被一小將竊我愛妾、逃入此塚中、此塚張公又借兵士與我力戰. *Siao siang luh*; TS, sect. 神異, ch. 42.

Sutteeism (Book I, p. 735), that the ties uniting husbands and wives in this world are not broken by death. Now as marriage in China under whatever form purports the production of offspring, we cannot but infer that ghosts and spectres also procreate their race, and that their society is not recruited solely from that of dying men.

And where sexual life exists, jealousy is rife; hence, naturally, spectres in China are not exempt from this hateful passion. "Outside the south gate of Kü-yung", thus runs a tale, "there are "the graves of nine husbands. Current tradition asserts, that once "upon a time there lived a most handsome wife, whose husband "died when she had by him not more than one baby boy. Her "family estate was very large; therefore she took to herself another "husband, but this one too died after having begotten one son "by her; he was buried beside the first one. Now she took a "third goodman, who died in the same circumstances, and in this "way things went on, till she had had nine husbands, and "possessed nine sons. The nine graves lay in a circle, and when "she died, she was buried in the midst. Then at every sunset "there rose a cold wind on the spot, and in the night crying, "whistling and quarrelling voices were heard, as if those husbands "were jealously snatching the wife out of each other's hands. In "the end wayfarers no longer ventured by the spot, and the neigh-"bouring villagers became so uneasy about the matter, that they "lodged a complaint with the prefect Chao T'ien-tsioh. This grandee "went with them to the graves. He there held a judicial session, and "ordered his underlings to deal thirty heavy blows with their long "sticks on the top of each grave; and since that time the deepest "silence has reigned on the spot" [1].

---

[1] 句容南門外有九夫墳。相傳昔有婦人甚美、夫死止一幼子。家貲甚厚、乃招一夫、生一子、夫又死、卽葬于前夫之側。而又贅一夫、復死如前、凡嫁九夫生九子。環列九墳、婦人死葬于九墳之中。每日落時其地卽起陰風、夜有呼嘯爭鬬之聲、若相媚而奪此婦者。行路不敢過、隣村爲之不安、相率訴于邑令趙天爵。隨至其地。排衙、呼皂隸于各墳頭持大杖重責三十、自此寂然.
*Tsz' puh yu*, ch. 7.

Apart from the graves which the living provide for the dead, spirits have burial places of their own making. "In Ch'en-cheu", a work of the T'ang dynasty asserts, "forty miles west of the prin-"cipal city of the Sü-p'u district (in Hunan), a mountain lies, "where spectres bury their dead. Hwang Min's description of Yuen-"cheu says: 'There, on the central cliff, coffins stand, which, seen "from the distance, seem to be more than ten chang in size. "It is called the graveyard of the spectres. Old people say, that "when the spectres were making those coffins, for seven days and "nights nothing was heard but the clicking of axes and chisels; "tools, knives and axes disappeared from the houses in a mysterious "way, and were all restored to the owners on the seventh day "when the spectres were ready, those tools then all having a greasy "appearance and a smell of rancid flesh. The coffins stood by that "time in the same position they have at present, athwart on the "brink of the cliff" [1].

Ideas about spectre-regions being firmly fixed in the minds of the Chinese, tales about men who have visited them have, of course, been made in considerable numbers. As an instance the following one may be translated here: "When the Chu family or "Liang dynasty reigned, a trader of Ts'ing-cheu (in Shantung) was "out at sea, and blown by a gale to a place where he saw in the "distance land with a walled city. The sea-captain said: 'Never "has anybody been blown hither by the wind; I have heard that "the realm of spectres must be here; could it be this?' The ship soon "reached the shore; they landed, and went to the city. The houses "and fields they passed did not differ from those in the Middle King-"dom. They saluted all whom they saw, but nobody saw them. "At the city-gate there was a watch; they bowed, but the watchmen "did not return their courtesy. They entered the city, and found "houses, men and animals in great numbers. Then they came to the "palace, where a great feast was just being given by the king to the

---

[1] 辰州溆浦縣西四十里有鬼葬山。黃閔沅州記云、其中巖有棺木、遙望可長十餘丈。謂鬼葬之墟。故老云鬼造此棺七日晝昏惟聞斧鑿聲、人家不覺失器物刀斧、七日霽、所失之物悉還其主、刀斧皆有肥膩腥臊。見此棺儼然橫據岸畔. *Hiai wen ki*; K K, ch. 351.

"ministers, and several dozen boon-companions attended on him. "Ceremonial clothes, caps, implements, and decorations in silk and "bamboo were almost in every respect of the same kind as those "used in China.

"The foreigners went up the steps into the palace-hall, and "as they crowded around the king's seat, in order to look at him, "he on a sudden became ill. His attendants carried him home, "and hastily called a w u to examine him, who said: 'People from "a y a n g country have come hither; y a n g influences have thronged "into this place; this is it why the king has fallen ill; those men "have come here accidentally and cause this spectral evil uninten- "tionally; we therefore can ask them to go away, by means of "food and drink, carts and horses'. Immediately they prepared "spirits and eatables and set out seats in a side-room, and the "ministers came with the w u to offer those things to them and "pray to them, and the foreigners ate and drank at the tables. "Suddenly slaves appeared with horses; the foreigners mounted, "and returned to the place whence they had come. At the seashore "they went on board, and even to this last moment the people of "that realm did not see them. As there blew again a fair wind, "they could sail home" [1].

Thus spectres treat men as men treat spectres; men are dangerous

---

[1] 朱梁時青州有賈客泛海遇風飄至一處、遠望有山川城郭。海師曰、自昔遭風者未嘗至此、吾聞鬼國在是、得非此耶。頃之舟至岸、因登岸向城而去。其廬舍田畝不殊中國。見人皆揖之而皆不見已。至城有守門者、揖之亦不應。入城、屋室人物甚殷。遂至王宮、正値大宴羣臣、侍飲者數十。其衣冠器用絲竹陳設之類多同中國。客因升殿俯逼王座以窺之、俄而王有疾。左右扶還、巫召巫者視之、巫曰、有陽地人至此、陽氣逼入故王病、其人偶來耳、無心爲祟、以飲食車馬謝遣之可矣。即具酒食、設座於別室、巫及其羣臣皆來祀視、客據案而食。俄有僕夫驅馬而至、客亦乘馬而歸。至岸登舟、國人竟不見已、復遇順風得歸. *Ku shen lu.*

to spectres as spectres are to men, by their natural contrary influence, and they are mutually exorcised by means of sacrifices. Another abode of spectres is sketched by the following tale, paraphrased and abridged by us:

In Szĕ-ch'wen, in the district of Fung-tu[1] on the Yangtszĕ, men and spectres have intercourse. There is in that place a well, into which every year paper money is thrown in great quantities, and near which very much paper is burned as a tribute to the rulers of the nether world; those who refuse to do so are punished with plagues and diseases. At the beginning of the present dynasty, Liu Kang[2] entered upon his functions as prefect of the district, and heard of those practices. He forbade them, and people who blamed him for so doing he caused to be arrested, but they proved obstinate, and told him that there were spectres in the well, and that nobody yet had ventured himself to the bottom of it. This tempted the mandarin and another brave man, one Li Sien[3], to have themselves lowered into it with a rope to a depth of some fifty feet. First it was dark, but then they entered a spot as clear as daylight, where they saw a city with walls, palaces and houses, just as in the world of men, but where people walked in the air and had no shadows. Being a mandarin, he was received by everybody with great politeness, and conducted before one lord Pao[4], alias Yama, a man of about seventy, enthroned in a splendid palace, with a crown on his head. A seat having been politely offered to the mandarin, he requested that the people should be relieved of that annual tax of paper on account of their poverty; on which Pao smilingly said that Taoist and Buddhist priests always deluded the people with ghost-tales, causing them to lay out large sums on sacrifices and masses, so that mandarins should take measures to restrain them and their doings.

Just then the Great Mara-subduing Emperor[5] arrived, that is to say, Kwan-ti, the God of War; out of the air he came, in a cloud of red light. He asked our mandarin about various things relating to the human world, and Li Sien was so bold to ask him where his residence was. The god did not answer, but immediately took his leave and departed, evidently in wrath. Lord Pao told Li Sien that this impudent question might cost him his life, and he probably

---

1 酆都. 2 劉綱. 3 李詵.
4 包公. 5 伏魔大帝.

would be smashed by thunder, but his body might escape destruction by fire if he died before that disaster came; to this end he marked his back with a great seal. Then both men had themselves hauled up out of the well, and ere they had reached the south gate of the city, Li Sien caught cold and died. Soon after this a thunder-storm set fire to his coffin and burned it, as also his clothes, but his body remained undamaged because of the impression of the seal [1].

Besides such fanciful spectre-realms, the Chinese, especially owing to Buddhist influence, have infernal regions inhabited by myriads of spectres. It is not, however, these infernal beings who visit them with evil and disease, nor are these the powers against whom man is for ever waging the war for his protection. They rather are objects of his pious care, miserable victims of their own sins, to be charitably delivered from their abodes of distress by the help of religion. The methods invented and practised to this end, as also those places of woe, will be subjects for description in other parts of this work.

---

1 *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 1.

# PART III.

## SORCERY.

As is the case with all pagan peoples which exist or have existed on this earth, so also the race which lives on Chinese soil has probably at all times produced men and women who were popularly credited with a power, surpassing that of ordinary mortals, of influencing spirits, either for good or ill. By means of such magic they might actually set in motion good and evil spirits, a fact which suggests of itself an express or tacit agreement with those beings, or the possession of a dominion over them, which imposes obedience more or less implicit. To use the common Chinese expressions, they could "evoke or call kwei and shen"[1], and then "employ them"[2].

Such animistic magic then may be divided into two distinct kinds. That which aims at producing human felicity, especially by working upon good spirits or gods by means of rites, invocations, and other practices, may be called religious magic, white magic; this constitutes the principal part of the functions of priesthood, and will occupy us much in other parts of this work. The other, which employs spirits to do harm to men, is animistic sorcery, black magic, witchcraft, and will be treated of in the following pages.

This inferior sort of magic works, of course, in the dark. Since it keeps the credulous hearts of the whole nation in constant anxiety and fright, as does the whole host of evil spirits, general odium attaches to all who practise it, exposing them at any moment to public vengeance and to severe prosecution by magistrates, who as a rule are not much less credulous than the mob. Nevertheless

---

[1] 召鬼神.

[2] 使鬼神 or 役鬼神.

sorcery is mentioned sufficiently often in writings to force on us the conclusion that it has always thriven in China, not less luxuriantly perhaps than in our own Europe in ancient and mediæval times. And we have not found in books a single expression indicating disbelief in its reality or in the reality of its effects. China therefore appears before us as a living testimony to the fact, that where belief in evil spirits prevails, black art, which calls such beings into action, cannot fail to flourish.

The secrecy with which black art envelops itself, renders the study of its details extremely difficult. Wizards and witches can hardly be expected to incriminate themselves and risk their safety and lives by betraying their secrets; illiterate men generally profess to know little of it, and probably they speak the truth; and literati have no more to tell than what they have read in some books which we may ourselves consult as well as they. Hence the reader of these pages must content himself with desultory information gleaned from Chinese books, besides some scanty hearsay evidence jotted down in our note-books while living in China for the purpose of studying the people.

Sorcery in China is not a special profession. Since the belief in spectres is universal there and profound, and those beings are within the reach of everybody, the world being crowded with them, every one may practise that art who possesses the will, and sufficient knowledge of the methods. But, as a matter of course, the extensive class of people who profess to exert influence upon the fate of men by means of the powers that work in the Universe and constitute its Tao or Order, that is, priests, soothsayers and diviners, geomancers, wu, in short, occult scientists in the widest sense, are openly suspected above all others of occupying themselves with sorcery; and ever since the Han dynasty books testify that they have been at all times objects of such suspicion.

Sorcery is generally denominated in Chinese books yao tao, yao shuh or yao fah[1], or sié tao, sié shuh or sié fah[2], all which terms equally mean "methods of demonry", whereas yao and sié denote (see p. 466) the baneful influences of spectres. Since, however, the word sié has a wider sense, embracing everything which is contrary to the Tao or Order of Nature, thus hete-

[1] 妖道, 妖術, or 妖法. [2] 邪道, 邪術, or 邪法.

rodoxy (see p. 467), the words sié tao, sié shuh and sié fah denote also heterodox magic, religious or other, performed without any intent to do harm to men, or even with benevolent purpose; also innocent juggling, and weird tricks of legerdemain or applications of mysterious, unknown natural laws, have been included under those terms by ignorant, distrustful minds, and those who practised them have, no doubt, at all times often been punished even with death as corrupters of good manners, agents of disturbance and confusion, and enemies of morality and social order. We have then sharply to distinguish between heterodox magic and sorcery, for, though sorcery is heterodox magic, heterodox magic is far from always being sorcery. No doubt various parts of the Chinese empire have special vernacular terms to denote sorcery, which have not passed into the written language, and may have their origin in the night of time. Such is the word *khiò*, which we find in Amoy. Such expressions should not, of course, be confounded with co-existing vernacular words denoting white magic.

One term of frequent use, denoting animistic sorcery, deserves special notice, because it seems to be the only one which is classical, viz. 假鬼神道, "way or method to make a false or wrong use of kwei and shen". It is borrowed from the *Li ki* (ch. 18, l. 38), from a passage which we may regard as the oldest Chinese written law against disturbance of public peace, and corruption of morals and customs by heterodox doctrines, magic or witchcraft of any kind: "With death are punished those who, by splitting "language (criticism?) minish the power of the law, and by casting "doubt on what is authoritative try to cause revolution, or by "employing aberrant Tao throw government into disorder. The "penalty of death is also inflicted on makers of heterodox (sié) "music, official garments different from those prescribed, strange "ingenious contrivances, and strange implements, thus causing per- "plexity to arise among the multitude. Those who are guilty of "unnatural conduct and persist therein; those who indulge in "heterodox speech and therewith dispute; those who apply them- "selves to evil and become versed therein; those who follow what "is wrong and become imbued therewith — they all shall, if they "cause perplexity to arise among the multitude, be put to death. "This shall be the punishment also for those who create doubts "among the people *by making a wrongful use of kwei and shen*, of "(lucky or unlucky) seasons or days, or of divination by means "of tortoise-shells or stalks. The execution of offenders of these

"four classes may take place even without their being heard in "their own defence"[1].

In the second century of our era, Ching Khang-ch'ing explicitly stated in his commentary on these lines, that among that "aberrant Tao" he reckoned wu ku, the worst and principal form of black magic prevailing in his time, of which the reader will hear in Chapter II. We readily admit that the term 假於鬼神 allows of other translations than "wrongful use of kwei and shen", which we propose"[2]. Nevertheless it must as readily be agreed, that, considering the fact that later authors have attached the signification of animistic sorcery to it, it is not irrational to conclude that in the unknown time when the above passage was written, it actually referred to such sorcery — a capital offence.

---

[1] 析言破律、亂名改作、執左道以亂政、殺。作淫聲異服奇技奇器以疑衆、殺。行僞而堅、言僞而辨、學非而博、順非而澤、以疑衆、殺。假於鬼神、時日卜筮、以疑衆、殺。此四誅者不以聽. Section 王制, IV.

2 Legge translates: "to give false reports about appearances of spirits": and Couvreur: "dire des faussetés concernant les manifestations des esprits".

# CHAPTER I.

## INFLICTION OF EVIL BY MEANS OF ONE'S OWN SOUL OR THAT OF A QUADRUPED.

That a man may project his soul out of his body at pleasure is in China a prevailing belief, which we have illustrated, by quotations from books, on pp. 103 *sqq*. It is then simply a matter of course that the Chinese should be convinced that sorcerers may cause their own soul to haunt and inflict evil on their enemies or victims.

"In Hang-cheu, one Chao Ts'ing-yao was so fond of chess that "he could not hear chess-men being set up without placing him- "self at the chess-board. Once when out for a stroll to the temple "of the Two Saints, he found there a Taoist with vulgar features, "just engaging in a game with a visitor, and showing himself so "poor a player, though he called himself an accomplished master, "that Chao felt disgusted, and without deigning to address a word "to him took his departure [1].

"Next night, on going to bed, he perceived two spectre-lights "(will-o'the-wisps) moving round and round his bed-curtains. He "did not deem it worth while to bestir himself at this sight, but "on a sudden a spectre with a blue face and with teeth like "a saw drew back the curtains, and stood before him, sword in "hand. Chao addressed some angry words to it, with the result "that it vanished. The following night a humming noise sounded "in his bed, as if of a number of boys reciting their lessons. "At first the noise was not very distinct, but on listening more "attentively he could distinguish these words: 'Is it any business

---

[1] 杭州趙清堯好奕、聞落子聲必與對枰。偶遊二聖菴、是道人貌陋與客方奕而棋甚劣、自稱煉師、趙意薄之、不與交言、隨卽辭出。

"of yours that I am a poor player and yet call myself an accom-
"plished master? why did you presume to treat me disrespectfully
"for that?' It was now quite clear to Chao that that Taoist doctor
"was trying to bring evil upon him, but this discovery merely
"stimulated his boldness. He heard the voice whisper thus: 'A
"very bold fellow you are, one who fears no knives, nor swords;
"but I will draw your life out of you by the method of hooking
"the hwun out of men'. And on this he distinguished the following
"incantation: 'Heaven's spiritual power (ling), work powerfully;
"spiritual power of Earth, work powerfully; a needle in your
"fontanel, and one under your heart'. On these words Chao felt his
"whole body shiver, as if overwhelmed by fear; but he kept
"control of his nerves and did not stir in the slightest. Stopping
"his ears with his hands he slumbered on, and though the spell
"went on ringing from his pillow, he endured it with firmness.

"A month passed away, when suddenly the Taoist doctor knelt
"down before his bed, his eyes wet with tears. 'I have', he said,
"'in a fit of anger set my arts to work against you, in order to
"intimidate you, hoping thereby to compel you to come to an
"understanding with me, and to get from you some money and
"silk, but I was mistaken, for you were not affected in the least.
"I now vainly deplore what I have done, for when my magic
"remains ineffectual upon my victims, it brings misfortune on
"myself. So I died yesterday, and my soul having no refuge, I
"am anxious to offer you my humble services as a patron divinity
"of your camphor trees and your willows, thus to atone for my
"iniquity'. Chao gave no answer, but sent a man next morning to
"the temple of the two Saints, who found that the Taoist had cut
"his own throat. Since that time Chao knew everything one day
"before it occurred, and it was said that the Taoist doctor was his
"servitor" [1].

---

[1] 是夕上床就寢、有鬼火二團繞其帳上。趙不爲動、俄有青面鋸齒鬼持刀揭帳。趙厲聲呵之、旋卽消滅。次夕滿床作啾啾聲、如童子學語。初不甚分明、細聽之乃云、我棋劣自稱煉師與汝何干而敢輕我。趙方知是道士爲祟、愈益無恐。旋又聞低聲云、汝大胆、刀劍不長、我將以勾魂法取汝性命。遂咒云、天靈靈、地靈靈、當頂門

— "In the Metropolis, when young babies regularly take to "crying, the people are wont to ascribe this to what they call "'petty night-stars'. There lived there a wu, who could catch "these beings by means of a bow of mulberry wood and arrows "of peachwood. In the home of a Vice-president of a Board the "great-grandfather had left a concubine, now upwards of ninety "years old. This Old Aunt, as the family was wont to call "her, used to sit on a warmed brick bed the whole day long, "and never did a word pass her lips, nor a smile appear on "her face. She kept a darling cat, who was her inseparable com-"panion [1].

"The Vice-president had a baby, still carried pickaback. It spent "its nights crying incessantly, wherefore he ordered the night-star "hunting wu to cure it; and this man came with his small bow, "and an arrow to the shaft of which he had tied a white silk "thread, several chang in length, wound around his fourth finger. "Thus armed, he sat down quietly till midnight, when the moon-"light began to shine upon the window, enabling him to see "hazily on the paper pane a shadow, rapidly gliding over it forward "and backward: a woman of seven or eight feet high, on horseback, "with a long spear in her hand. Our wu stretched out his arm, "and whispering 'there the night-star is', drew his bow, and

---

心下一針。趙聞之、覺滿身肉趯趯然如欲顫者、乃强制其心、總不一動。兼以手自塞其耳然臨臥、則咒聲出于枕中、趙堅忍。

月餘忽見道士涕泣跪于床前。曰、我以一念之嗔來行法怖汝、要汝央求好、取些財帛、不料汝總不動心、我悔之無及、我法不行于人者反殃其身、故我昨日已死、魂無所歸、願來服役作君家樟柳神以贖前愆。趙卒不答、明日遣人往二聖巷視之、道士果自到。嗣後趙君一日前之事必先知之、或云道士爲服役也. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 8.

[1] 京師小兒夜啼謂之夜星子。有巫能以桑弧桃矢捉之。某侍郎家其曾祖留一妾、年九十餘。舉家呼爲老姨、日坐炕上不言不笑。愛畜一猫、相守不離。

"let fly his arrow into the spectre. A moaning sound was heard; "the ghost threw down its spear and took to its heels, while "the wu, pushing through the window pane, got the thread "clear. Then at the head of the crowd he followed the thread, "thereby being guided to the back chamber of the house, where "it was found to pass through the crack of the door. The crowd "called to the Old Aunt, but as she gave no answer, they lighted "torches and entered to see. A slave girl exclaimed: 'the Old Aunt "is hit by an arrow', and in truth, when they stood round her "they saw the arrow sticking in her shoulder. She groaned and "bled, with the cat still between her thighs, and the spear she had "carried was a thin bamboo slip. The family beat the cat to death, "and deprived the Aunt of all food and drink, so that she died "not long after. The child never cried again" [1].

This tale, which reminds us vividly of our European witches with their cats serving them to ride on, leaves it beyond doubt that the soul of that hag had gone out as a demon to torment the child, and that her cat's soul served her as a spectral horse for her nocturnal trips. Professors of black art are even described as projecting themselves into corpses, in order to employ these as kiang si with all the atrocious, murderous propensities for which those demons are so notorious. "Two T'ung-ch'ing men, Chang and Sü, connected "by ties of friendship, were trading in the province of Kiangsi, and "they had travelled as far as Kwang-sin, when Sü died in the upper "chamber of an inn. Chang then went to the bazaar to buy a "coffin for him. The undertaker asked him two thousand coins for

---

[1] 侍郎有幼子、尚襁褓。夜啼不止、乃命捉夜星子巫來治之、巫手小弓箭、箭簳縛素絲數丈、以第四指環之。坐至半夜、月色上窓、隱隱見窓紙有影倏進倏却彷彿、一婦人長七八尺、手執長矛、騎馬而行。巫推手低語曰、夜星子來矣、彎弓射之。啷啷有聲、棄矛反奔、巫破窓引線。率衆逐之、比至後房、其絲竟入門隙。衆呼老姨、不應、乃燒燭入覓。一婢呼曰、老姨中箭矣、環視之果見小箭釘老姨肩上。呻吟流血、所畜猫猶在胯下、所持矛乃小竹簽也。舉家撲殺其猫而絕老姨之飲食、未幾死。兒不復啼. *Tsié pai yü*, ch. 23.

"one, and the bargain was closed, when an old man seated beside "the counter interposed, and told him not to let it go under four "thousand. On which Chang lost his temper and returned to his "inn. That evening, when he was upstairs, the corpse reared itself "up and gave him a thrashing, driving him in manifold terror to "seek shelter downstairs. Next day, in the clear morning light, he "went out again to fetch the coffin, and offered a thousand coins "more for it. The owner of the coffin-shop said nothing, but "there was again the old man of the counter who had made "objections, who said with a curse: 'I am not the master here, "but they all know me as the crouching hill-tiger; if you do not "give me two thousand coins, that is to say, the same sum as "the shopkeeper wants for the coffin, you shall not have it'. "Chang being but a poor man, could by no means afford that "sum, and had no other alternative but to betake himself to the "country and there stroll about [1].

"Here he encountered a kindly smiling man with a white beard, "dressed in a blue gown. 'Are you the man who bought a coffin?' "he asked. 'Yes, I am', was the answer. 'And did you incur the "wrath of the crouching hill-tiger?' Again he received an affirmative "answer, whereupon he handed a whip to Chang, saying: 'This is "the whip with which Wu Tszĕ-sü belaboured the corpse of king "P'ing of Ch'u (B. I, p. 349); should the corpse rear itself up "again this night and attack you, then use this whip, and you "will get the coffin and be delivered from the trouble you "are in'. With these words the man disappeared. Chang went "to the inn and ascended the ladder; and no sooner did the "corpse jump up than he belaboured it as he had been told to do,

---

[1] 桐城張徐二友貿易江西、行至廣信、徐卒于店樓。張入市買棺爲殮。棺店主人索價二千文、交易成矣、櫃旁坐一老人遮攔之、必須四千。張忿然歸。是夜張上樓、尸起相撲、張大駭、急避下樓。次日清晨又往買棺、加錢千文。棺主人並無一言、而作梗之老人先在櫃上罵曰、我雖不是主人、然此地我號坐山虎、非送我二千錢、與主人一樣、棺不可得。張素貧、力不能有、無可奈何徬徨于野。

"so soundly that it fell to the ground under the blows. On his "visiting the shop next day for the coffin, the shopkeeper said: "'The crouching hill-tiger of last night is dead, and our country "all around is thus rid of a nuisance; now carry off the coffin "for the original price of two thousand'. Of course Chang asked "him for further explanation. 'That old fellow', the shopkeeper said, "'is one of the Hung tribe; he was in possession of sorcerous arts, "could employ spectres, and was also in the habit of employing "corpses to attack men. Whenever any one died and a coffin had "to be bought, he was to be found in my shop to extort an extra "share for himself, consisting of half the price paid; he has done "so for several years, and many have incurred the evil consequences "of his deeds. Last night he died on a sudden, without it being "known what ailed him'. Then Chang told him of the whip which "the whitebeard gave him: the two men hastened to the old "fellow, and found on his corpse the stripes of the whip. Some "say that whitebeard in blue was the local god of the Soil" [1].

The Chinese statements and narratives about men changing themselves into animals, of which we have composed our chapter on Zoanthropy (pp. 156 *sqq.*) and that on Animal-spectres (pp. 542 *sqq.*), leave no room for doubt that such metamorphoses are in many cases, if not in most, regarded by the Chinese as intentional. This appears especially conspicuously in the tale about Chen Chen, who changed himself into a tiger by means of a charm and a

---

[1] 又一白鬚翁、著藍色袍、笑而迎曰、汝買棺人耶。曰然。曰、汝受坐山虎氣耶。曰是也、白鬚翁手一鞭曰、此伍子胥鞭楚平王尸鞭也、今晚尸起相撲汝、持此鞭之、則棺得而大難解矣。言畢不見。張歸上樓、尸又躍起如其言、應鞭而倒。次日赴店買棺、店主人曰、昨夜坐山虎死矣、我一方之害除矣、汝仍以二千文原價來擡棺可也、問其故。主人曰、此老姓洪、有妖法、能役使鬼魅、慣遣死尸撲人、人死買棺彼又在我店居奇強分半價、如是多年、受累者衆、昨夜暴死、未知何病、張乃告以白鬚翁贈鞭之事、二人急往視之、老人尸上果有鞭痕。或曰白鬚而著藍袍者此方土地神也. *Tai puh yu*, ch. 10.

painted picture of the beast (page 169); tigroanthropy quite or partly wilful probably was that of Ch'en Shih-shan (page 179); Chu Tu-shi (p. 548) certainly was a bloodthirsty tiger by his own will; persons changing themselves into wolves at pleasure were the lad in the tale on page 565, the Hunnish woman Kin (page 566), and the herdsman Ts'ang (page 567). If such self-transformed were-animals inflict evil on men, this is animistic sorcery, inasmuch as the soul of the man or the animal may be deemed to have an actual share in the transformation (cf. page 156).

Such four-footed agents of black art may, like all animal-devils, inflict disease. "In the twentieth year of the Khien lung period "(A.D. 1755) a family in the Metropolis had a young baby which "frequently was paralized by fright (convulsions), and died before "it had lived for a full year. During such fits a black thing "like an owl fluttered around the lamp, and the quicker it flew, "the more the child panted, and when it had entirely ceased to "breathe the beast disappeared. Not long afterwards another child "of that family had convulsions. But then a Mr. Ngoh, officer of "the Imperial Guard, an intrepid man, heard of it; flying into a "passion, he stationed himself on the spot with a bow and arrows, "to shoot the black brute as soon as he would see it come. He "touched the string; off the arrow flew; a cry of pain was heard, "and blood trickled down on the ground. He followed this track "across a double wall, lost it at the fire-place in the house of "Li, the President of the Board of War, and took post there "with his arrows [1].

"Mr. Li, astonished, appeared, and asked him what he wanted, and "Ngoh, who was a relation of his, told him what the matter was. "Now the President gave orders to look about the furnace, and "they found in an apartment beside it a hag with green eyes, with "an arrow sticking in her waist, from which the blood trickled

[1] 乾隆二十年京師人家生兒輒患驚瘋、不周歲便亡。兒病時有一黑物如鵂鶹盤旋燈下、飛愈疾則小兒喘聲愈急、待兒氣絶黑物乃去。未幾某家兒又驚風。有侍衛鄂某者、素勇、聞之、怒挾弓矢、相待見黑物至射之。中弦而飛、有呼痛聲、血涔涔灑地。追之、踰兩重墻、至李大司馬家之竈下乃滅、鄂挾矢立竈下。

"down; she had the shape of a mi monkey, being a Miao-tszĕ "woman whom the President had brought home from Yunnan "province, where he had been a mandarin. She was extremely old, "and pretended not to know her own age. Thus suspected of sorcery, "she was manacled and interrogated, on which she owned to the "possession of certain spells, by merely reciting which she could "change herself bodily into strange birds. When thus changed, she "waited for the second watch to fly out and devour the brains of "babies, more than several hundreds of which she had thus harmed. "Mr. Li, enraged, fettered her, made a pile of fuel, and burned "her alive; and from that moment a long tranquillity reigned, and "there were no more convulsions among babies" [1].

Instead of their own souls in an animal shape, sorcerers and sorceresses project those of animals for their evil purpose, or perhaps the animals themselves. The reader has already made acquaintance with this form of black art in our dissertation on cat-spectres (p. 610), where we have related from standard history a case of sorcerous use of cats by grandees at the Imperial court of the Sui dynasty in A.D. 598; it has taught us that the main principles of this form of black art consisted in this, that its practitioners imposed their will upon the animal by means of sacrifices, spells and incantations, thus inducing it to make people ill or kill them, and steal their possessions. It is interesting to learn from that event, that in those times even an emperor sacrificed to his belief in such sorcery his brother-in-law and his wife; we may infer from this the credulity of the rest. It was, according to the historian, principally the personal intervention of the empress which saved the culprit: "When T'o, the brother of the empress by another "mother, was condemned to death for having employed cat-"spectres against her, with wu-ist k u, spells and incantations, she

[1] 李府驚爭來問訊、鄧與李素有戚、道其故。大司馬命往籠下覓之、見旁屋內一綠眼嫗、插箭於腰、血猶淋漓、形若獼猴、乃大司馬官雲南時帶歸苗女。最篤老、自云不記年歲。疑其爲妖拷問之、云有咒語、念之便能身化異鳥。專待二更後出、食小兒腦、所傷者不下數百矣。李公大怒、細縛、置薪、活焚之、嗣後長安、小兒病驚風者竟斷. *Tsze puh yu*, ch. 5.

"did not eat for three days, and interceded for his life in these "terms: 'If he had inflicted any damage on the government or "the people, I would not venture to say one word; but as he "has merely committed an offence against my person, I have the "courage to intercede for his life'. On this, T'o's penalty of death "was diminished by one degree" [1].

Much more significant of the strength of the belief in the reality of cat-sorcery were that emperor's orders to persecute and destroy all families accused of it. In the chronological list of the events of his reign we read: "In the eighteenth year of the Khai-"hwang period (598), in the fifth month, he decreed that families "keeping cat-spectres, breeding ku poison, holding spectres in "subjection, or practising any such savage or barbarous methods "whatever, should be banished to the farthest frontier-regions at "the four cardinal points" [2]. We have not found in Chinese books of any period any further reference to cat-spectre sorcery; which may mean, either that the case of the Sui dynasty stands alone, or that the crime of which it relates merely existed in the imagination of the emperor and his courtiers. Let us notice, that his brother-in-law was accused of having occupied himself also with "wu-ist ku", and that the cruel crusade was ordered against breeders of "ku poison" and people "keeping spectres in subjection". We have here to do with two methods of animistic sorcery, which we find in books of all times mentioned more often than any other, and to which we shall now first of all give our attention.

---

[1] 后異母弟陀以猫鬼巫蠱呪詛於后坐當死、后三日不食、爲之請命曰、陀若蠹政害民者妾不敢言、今坐爲妾身敢請其命。陀於是減死一等. Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 36, l. 5; History of the North, ch. 14, l. 17.

[2] 開皇十八年五月詔畜猫鬼蠱毒厭魅野道之家投於四裔. Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 2, l. 13; History of the North, ch. 11, l. 26.

## CHAPTER II.

### SORCERY BY MEANS OF SMALL REPTILES AND INSECTS.

From early ages, sorcerers and sorceresses in China have used poisonous reptiles and insects for the exercise of their black art. The cauldron in which Gallic, Germanic and Scandanavian hags brewed their deleterious plants or drugs, has had there from ancient times its counterpart in a pot with insects and reptiles, which, as authors constantly assert, were left to devour each other, the last surviving creature, after having swallowed all the others and thus appropriated their venomous qualities, then being employed as the instrument of evil. This pot we find denoted by the special character 蠱, now pronounced k u, formed by the hieroglyph 皿, a pot or vessel, and 蟲, reptiles or insects.

Thus, from the very outset, we see sorcery associated with poison. The antiquity of the habit of keeping such pots is obvious from the fact that mention is made of it in the *Cheu li*. This work says, that a certain official, entitled C h ü s h i (decocter?), "was charged "with the duty of exterminating poisonous k u, attacking this with "spells and thus exorcising it, as also with the duty of attacking "it with efficacious herbs; all persons able to fight k u he was "to employ according to their capacities" [1]. It is certainly to be regretted that that work is absolutely silent about the particulars of the manner in which those anti-sorcery officials exercised their vocation. Another intimation that such black art is very ancient, occurs in the writings of Szĕ-ma Ts'ien, in which we read, that "the Ruler Teh of the state of Ts'in in the second year of his "reign (675 b.C.) suppressed k u at the commencement of the "hottest summer-period by means of dogs" [2]. According to com-

[1] 庶氏掌除毒蠱、以攻說禬之、嘉草攻之、凡殺蠱則令之比之. Ch. 37, f. 35.

[2] 秦德公二年初伏以狗禦蠱. Historical Records, ch. V, f. 9.

mentators, these animals were for the purpose butchered and affixed to the four gates of the capital. We must notice, however, that the word k u may refer in this passage to insects in general, it having, as we shall see presently, acquired this signification as well.

We learn something of interest about the breeding of k u from the *Tso ch'wen*: "The Ruler of Tsin asked that of Ts'in for a physician, and the latter sent one Hwo to see him, who said: 'This "disease cannot be cured; it is what we call a sickness caused by "approaching the women's chambers, and its symptoms are like "those of k u; it is not caused by spectres, nor by (bad) food, but "the patient's mind is disordered, so that his firmness of will is "lost' .... Chao Meng then asked the physician what he meant by "k u. 'It is', he said, 'a thing which produces excessive indulgence in debauchery, as also disorders by confusion of the mind; "in its written form it contains the components 'pot' and 'reptiles "or insects', constituting the character k u; the flying insects in "corn also are k u, and in the *Cheu yih* (the *Yih king*) a girl con"founding a man, and the wind blowing down from the mountains "are said to be due to k u; — all these matters are of the "same kind" [1].

Thus the term k u also included the use of philtre-maggots by women desirous of exciting the lusts of men and attracting them into debauchery. And, evidently, k u was also used to destroy crops or food-stores, or, as the learned physician expressed it, to make the corn fly away, perhaps in the form of winged insects born therein; indeed, the character for k u is regularly used in literature to denote devastating grubs and insects, including internal parasites of the human body, which exercise a destructive influence like poison. "K u means insects in the belly", says the *Shwoh wen*; "the spectre "of a dead man whose head is exposed on a stake, also is k u" [2].

---

[1] 晉侯求醫於秦、秦伯使醫和視之、曰、疾不可爲也、是謂近女室、疾如蠱、非鬼、非食、惑以喪志。。。趙孟曰、何謂蠱。對曰、淫溺惑亂之所生也、於文皿蟲爲蠱、穀之飛亦爲蠱、在周易女惑男風落山謂之蠱、皆同物也. The first year of the ruler Chao's reign. One of the k w a, treated in the *Yih king*, viz. ䷑, the eighteenth, bears the name of 蠱; see the *Cheu yih cheh chung* 周易折中, ch. 3, l. 11; ch. 9, l. 20; ch. 11, l. 29.

[2] 蠱腹中蟲也、梟磔死之鬼亦爲蠱. Ch. 13, II, l. 5 and 6.

This last statement seems to reveal to us a belief that such a soul, roaming restlessly about because of its corpse being mutilated, must be avenging itself on the living by settling in their intestines in the shape of the same maggots and grubs which gnaw away its decaying head.

The fact that ku sorcery is mentioned in China's early literature, inclines us to the belief that it may have been practised in that country from primeval times. The rôle it played under the Han dynasty must have been very considerable, if we may estimate its dimensions from the cruelty, nay ferocity, of the measures which were then adopted against those who indulged in it; and these measures testify better than anything to the fact that such malefactors constantly tortured the souls of even the most powerful potentates with dread and terror. The Standard Histories of that House tell of empresses, princely magnates, grandees and courtiers, disgraced, degraded, imprisoned, and put to death on the charge of such crime, even of a bloody rebellion entailed by such a crusade. Generally those authoritative works call that sorcery wu ku 巫蠱 or "wu-ist ku", which evidently indicates that it was deemed to be practised in particular by wu or professional priests and priestesses, animistic magicians, exorcists, whom the reader has so often met in this work, and to whom we shall specially devote Part V of this Book.

We read that the emperor Wu "in the fifth year of the Yuen "kwang period (130 b.C.), in the seventh month, arrested the "makers of wu ku, and that their heads were all exposed on "stakes" [1]. No particulars are given of this bloody chase. But under that same emperor there occurred another crusade, of which many details have been preserved in different chapters of the Books of the Early Han Dynasty. One chapter relates as follows:

"The son of Kung-sun Ho, King-shing, succeeded his father as "director of the Court of the Imperial Stud and Stables, so that "father and son both belonged to the highest dignitaries. King-shing "was the son of a sister of the empress, and therefore indulged in "extravagant pomp and lawless conduct. In the Ching hwo period "(b.C. 92—89), he arbitrarily spent nineteen hundred myriads of coins "belonging to the army of the North; this was discovered, and he "was imprisoned. At that time an imperial order was issued to arrest

[1] 元光五年秋七月捕爲巫蠱者、皆梟首. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 6, f. 6.

"one Chu Ngan-shi of Yang-ling, but this man could not be found. "The emperor insisted urgently upon search being made for him, "on which Kung-sun Ho offered to track and catch him, if he might "thereby redeem the guilt of his son. The emperor accepted his "offer, and Kung-sun Ho succeeded in catching the man. This "Chu Ngan-shi was one of the most influential persons in the "Metropolis. Hearing that Ho used him to ransom his son from "punishment, he laughed; 'the misfortune of that minister shall "now involve his whole tribe!' he said, 'there will not be bamboo "enough in the southern mountains to write the accusations on, "which I shall bring, nor will the Yié valley supply wood enough "for the handcuffs I shall cause to be made'. And from his gaol "he wrote letters to the emperor, in which he accused King-shing "of sexual intercourse with the imperial princess Yang-shih, and of "having by some wu offered sacrifices (to evil spirits) and impre-"cated evil upon the emperor. Besides he calumniously declared, "that when the emperor went up to Kan-tsʿüen, they had buried "human images in the high road, using imprecations and spells. "Hereupon the emperor ordered some ministers to examine Ho "judicially, and to take drastic measures against his mischief; and "father and son were put to death in their prisons. The calamity "which wu-ist ku thus brought down on their family and clan was "set in motion by Chu Ngan-shi; it was completed by Kiang Chʿung, "so that the princesses, the empress, and the heir-apparent altogether "perished" [1].

---

[1] 公孫賀子敬聲代賀爲太僕、父子並居公卿位。敬聲以皇后姊子驕奢不奉法。征和中擅用北軍錢千九百萬、發覺、下獄。是時詔捕陽陵朱安世、不能得。上求之急、賀自請逐捕安世以贖敬聲罪。上許之、後果得安世。安世者京師大俠也。聞賀欲以贖子罪、笑曰、承相禍及宗矣、南山之竹不足受我辭、斜谷之木不足爲我械。安世遂從獄中上書、告敬聲與陽石公主私通、及使人巫祭祠詛上。且上甘泉當馳道埋偶人祝詛有惡言。下有司案驗賀、窮治所犯、遂父子死獄中。家族巫蠱之禍起自朱安世、成於江充、遂及公主皇后太子皆敗. Ch. 66, l. 2.

This statement means that Ho's family and clan were exterminated; indeed, Szĕ-ma Ts'ien's biographical notice about Ho ends with these words: "He was punished for the sexual intercourse "of his son King-shing with the princess Yang-shih and for having "made wu-ist ku, with extermination of his clan, so that he left "no posterity" [1]. We have now to see in what way Kiang Ch'ung "completed the calamity".

This man was in command of the Hunnish troops, a bold, gigantic, martial figure, a high favourite of the emperor, who probably relied much on him for his personal safety. His biographer relates as follows: "It happened at that time, that Chu Ngan-shi "of Yang-ling accused the minister Kung-sun Ho and his son the "director of the Imperial Stud and Stables, of wu ku; this intrigue "involved the princesses Yang-shih and Chu-yih, and entailed the "execution of Ho and his son. Later on, the emperor travelled "to Kan-ts'üen, and there fell ill. Kiang Ch'ung seeing his great "age, and feeling convinced that, should he die, the heir-apparent "would put him to death, with felonious intent informed the "emperor that the source of the devilry which caused the disease "from which he was suffering, was wu ku. And His Majesty com-"missioned him to take measures against that wu ku. Now Kiang "Ch'ung had the ground dug up by his Hunnish wu, to seek for "human images; those men seized breeders of ku and nocturnal "sacrificers; they saw the spectres; they defiled the ground (with "sacrificial spirits) so as to make suspicious places. They continuously "arrested people, examined them, belaboured them with hot iron "tongs, and roasted them to extort confessions; and those people "consequently falsely accused each other of using wu ku; officials "were continually incriminated with rebellion; those who fled or "were condemned and put to death amounted, from the beginning "to the end of that period, to tens of thousands.

"All that time, the aged emperor was suspecting his whole "entourage of ku practices, imprecations and spells. Nobody, either "among the guilty or the innocent, ventured to complain to him "about the wrongs inflicted. And Kiang Ch'ung, well acquainted "with the emperor's mania, told him that there also prevailed "influences of ku within the Palace. First he proceeded against "the harem, where the ladies who enjoyed the highest imperial

[1] 坐子敬聲與陽石公主奸爲巫蠱、族滅、無後.
Historical Records, ch. 111, f. 16.

"favour all had their turn, even the empress. Then digging for k u "in the mansion of the heir-apparent, he found in the ground an "image of t'u n g wood. The prince, fearing that he would now "be unable to clear himself of guilt, arrested Kiang Ch'ung, "and beheaded him with his own hand, exclaiming reproachfully: "'Slave from Chao [1], is it not enough that you have once before "created discord between your Sovereign and his son? would you "do so once more!'

"How the prince was then worsted is related in the Traditions "concerning him. Afterwards Wu was informed that Kiang Ch'ung "had deceived him, and exterminated his three clans" [2] — that of himself, of his mother, and his wife.

The heir-apparent, named Li [3], had already been appointed as successor to the throne in 122 b.C., when seven years old. Those Traditions concerning him contain the following lines:

---

1 Kiang Ch'ung was from Han-tan 邯鄲 in the Chao 趙 principality, now in Chihli province.

2 會陽陵朱安世告丞相公孫賀子太僕敬聲爲巫蠱、事連及陽石諸邑公主、賀父子皆坐誅。後上幸甘泉疾病。充見上年老、恐晏駕後爲太子所誅、因是爲姦奏言上疾祟在巫蠱。於是上以充爲使者治巫蠱。充將胡巫掘地求偶人、捕蠱及夜祠、視鬼、染汙令有處。輒收捕驗、治燒鐵鉗、灼强服之、民轉相誣以巫蠱、吏輒劾以大逆、亡道坐而死者前後數萬人。

是時上春秋高、疑左右皆爲蠱祝詛。有與亡莫敢訟其冤者。充既知上意、因言宮中有蠱氣。先治後宮、希幸夫人以次及皇后。遂掘蠱於太子宮、得桐木人。太子懼不能自明、收充、自臨斬之、罵曰、趙虜、前亂乃國王父子不足邪、迺復亂吾父子也。

太子繇是遂敗、語在戾園傳。後武帝知充有詐、夷充三族. Ch. 45, ll. 14 *seq.*

3 戾.

"In the last years of Wu's reign the empress Wei lost the imperial "favour. Kiang Ch'ung intrigued against her, for there was a breach "between them, and also between him and the heir-apparent, "so that he had to fear that after the death of the emperor he "would be put to death by the prince. Hence, when the w u k u "incident occurred, Ch'ung availed himself of it for his felonious "work. At that time the emperor was of great age, and, spon- "taneously inclined to imagine evil, suspected the whole of his "immediate entourage of working with k u, imprecations and spells. "Drastic measures were taken; the minister Kung-sun Ho and his "son, the imperial princesses Yang-shih and Chu-yih, the empress "and her younger brother's son Wei Khang, vassal of Ch'ang-p'ing, "were all found guilty and put to death. This is recorded in the "Traditions about Kung-sun Ho and Kiang Ch'ung.

"While taking his measures in that w u k u affair, Kiang Ch'ung, "well acquainted with the emperor's suspicions, told him that there "prevailed an influence of k u within the Palace. He invaded the "Palace, penetrated even into the imperial halls, demolished the "throne, and dug up the ground beneath it. And the emperor "ordered Han Yueh, vassal of Ngan-tao, as also the co-minister "Chang Kan, and the Yellow Gate officer Su Wen, to assist Ch'ung "in his work. Ch'ung also went to the mansion of the heir-apparent, "dug there for k u, and found a doll of t'u n g wood in the "ground. The emperor being ill, had retired from the heat into "the Kan-ts'üen palace, and nobody was in the capital except the "empress and the heir-apparent. The prince then called Shih Teh, "his second Instructor. This grandee, being the tutor of the heir- "apparent, felt himself also in danger of life, and therefore gave "the prince the following advice: 'The late minister and his son, "the two princesses, and Her Majesty Wei have been punished "with death for this affair, and now the w u and the retainers "have found a damning piece of evidence in the ground; we do "not known whether they themselves have hidden it therein, or "whether it really was there, and you will have no means of "explaining the matter; therefore avail yourself of your warrant: "arrest Ch'ung and his crew, put them in prison, and take drastic "measures against their felony and fraud. The emperor is ill "and in Kan-ts'üen; the empress and her officials have applied "to him for orders, and have not received any answer, so that "we do not even know whether he is alive or dead, and felonious "ministers are availing themselves of this occasion. Crown-prince,

"have you forgotten the incident of Fu-su[1] of the Ts'in dynasty?'[2].

"Without any hesitation the heir-apparent followed this advice, "and in the second year of the Ching hwo period (b.C. 91), in "the seventh month, on the day jen-wu, he despatched some of his "guests as his delegates, with orders to arrest Ch'ung and the "others. The vassal of Ngan-tao, Han Yueh, thought that those "delegates were deceiving him, and refused to surrender to the "order of the prince, wherefore they slew him. The co-minister "Chang Kan was wounded, but escaped with his life, and sought "refuge in Kan-ts'üen. That same night the crown-prince sent his "chamberlain Wu Tsü with a warrant into the Wei-ying palace, "and there, at the Ch'ang-ts'iu gate, by the agency of the chief "attendant I-hwa, that delegate told the empress to remove the chariots "from her stables and man them with archers, and to march out "the soldiers of the military arsenals, as also the guards of the "Ch'ang-loh palace. Further the prince issued the following order to

---

1 The heir-apparent of Shi Hwang, killed on his father's death by command of the famous chief minister Li Sze 李斯.

2 武帝末衛后寵衰。江充用事、充與太子及衛氏有隙、恐上晏駕後爲太子所誅。會巫蠱事起、充因此爲姦。是時上春秋高、意多所惡、以爲左右皆爲蠱道祝詛。窮治其事、丞相公孫賀父子、陽石諸邑公主、及皇后弟子長平侯衛伉、皆坐誅。語在公孫賀江充傳。

充典治巫蠱、既知上意、白言宮中有蠱氣。入宮、至省中、壞御座、掘地。上使按道侯韓說、御史章贛、黃門蘇文等助充。充遂至太子宮、掘蠱、得桐木人。時上疾辟暑甘泉宮、獨皇后太子在。太子召問少傅石德。德懼爲師傅并誅、因謂太子曰、前丞相父子、兩公主、及衛氏皆坐此、今巫與使者掘地得徵驗、不知巫置之邪、將實有也、無以自明、可矯以節、收捕充等、繫獄、窮治其姦詐、且上疾在甘泉、皇后及家吏請問、皆不報、上存亡未可知、而姦臣如此、太子將不念秦扶蘇事邪。

"the body of officers: 'Kiang Ch'ung has revolted; I have decapitated "him, and scorched with fire his Hunnish wu in Shang-lin'. His "adherents and guests placed themselves at the head of his partisans, and fought the minister Liu Khüh-li in Ch'ang-ngan; — this "revolt is known as that of the crown-prince. As the populace would "not side with him, his troops were worsted, but he escaped.

"The rage of the emperor was so great that all his subordinates "were in anxiety and fear, not knowing how to escape it... The "prince fled eastward to Hu (in the present Honan pr.), and con"cealed himself in the Ts'üen-kiu hamlet. The man who sheltered "him was poor, and for the time being provided for the wants of "the prince by the sale of shoes. The prince had an old friend "living in Hu, and hearing that he was well-to-do, sent somebody "to call him, but this led to his discovery. Officials besieged "the house in order to arrest him, and the prince, seeing that "escape was impossible, entered his room, closed the door, and "hanged himself. A young soldier of Shan-yang, Chang Fu-ch'ang by "name, kicked the door open, and one Li Shen, secretary of the "prefect of Sin-ngan, quickly clasped the prince in his arms and "loosed him, while the owner of the house was killed in the struggle, "and the two imperial grandsons also met with a violent end.

"The emperor felt sorrow for the crown-prince... He rewarded "Li Shen with the dignity of vassal of Yü, and Chang Fu-ch'ang "with that of T'i. After some time, the wu ku affair was no more "believed in by most people, and the emperor realised that the "crown-prince had acted under no other impulse but fear; and "when Ch'é Ts'ien-ts'iu had again lodged his accusations concerning "the wrong done to the prince, the emperor raised that man to the "dignity of minister, exterminated the whole family of Kiang Ch'ung, "and burned Su Wen on the Hung bridge"[1].

---

[1] 太子急然德言、征和二年七月壬午乃使客爲使者收捕充等。按道侯說疑使者有詐、不肯受詔、客格殺說。御史章贛被創、突亡、自歸甘泉。太子使舍人無且持節夜入未央宮殿、長秋門因長御倚華具白皇后發中廄車載射士、出武庫兵、發長樂宮衛。告令百官曰、江充反、迺斬充、以狗炙胡巫上林中。遂部賓客爲將率、與丞相劉屈氂等戰長安中、擾亂言太子反。以故

The chronological list of events of Wu's reign states, that "the "wu ku affair commenced in the first year of the Ching hwo "period (92 b.C.) on the eleventh day of the eleventh month; "the minister Kung-sun Ho was imprisoned and executed in the "first month of the next year, and the princesses Chu-yih and "Yang-shih were executed for practising wu ku in the next inter-"calary month. In that summer the emperor sojourned in Kan-ts'üen, "and it was in autumn, in the seventh month, that the men of "Han Yueh with Kiang Ch'ung dug for ku in the palace of the "prince. On the day jen-wu of that month the prince and the "empress resolved to decapitate Kiang Ch'ung, and by his authority "troops were brought out, which fought so fiercely in Ch'ang-ngan "with the minister Liu Khüh-li, that some tens of thousands of "people perished. It was on the day keng-yin (the eighth after "jen-wu) that the heir-apparent escaped and the empress killed "herself, and on the day sin-hai of the eighth month (the "twenty-first after keng-yin) that the prince committed suicide "in Hu" [1].

---

衆不肯附、太子兵敗、亡不得。

上怒甚、羣下憂懼、不知所出 。。。太子之亡也東至湖、臧匿泉鳩里。主人家貧、常賣屨以給太子。太子有故人在湖、聞其富贍、使人呼之、而發覺。吏圍捕太子、太子自度不得脫、入室、距戶、自經。山陽男子張富昌爲卒、足蹋開戶、新安令史李壽趨抱解太子、主人公遂格鬬死、皇孫二人皆并遇害。

上既傷太子 。。。其封李壽爲邘侯、張富昌爲題侯。久之巫蠱事多不信、上知太子惶恐無他意、而車千秋復訟太子冤、上遂擢千秋爲丞相、而族滅江充家、焚蘇文於橫橋上. Ch. 63, ll. 1 *sqq.*

[1] 征和元年十一月十一日巫蠱起、二年正月丞相賀下獄死、閏月諸邑公主陽石公主皆坐巫蠱死。夏行幸甘泉、秋七月按道侯韓說使者江充等掘蠱太子宮。壬午太子與皇后謀斬充、以節發兵、與丞相劉屈氂大戰長安、死者數萬人。

Accordingly, no less than nine long months of bloody terrorism, ending in a tremendous slaughter, cost some tens of thousands their lives! This cipher certainly is large, but we do not find one letter in history which entitles us to call it exaggerated. About those bloody days, which saw the prince totally worsted and sealed his doom, that of his mother, his sisters, and his two sons, we further read the following particulars in the biography of the victorious minister Liu Khüh-li, the emperor's brother by another mother:

"In the autumn of that year, the heir-apparent Li was falsely "accused by Kiang Ch'ung. The prince killed Kiang Ch'ung, raised "troops, and invaded the mansion of the minister, who fled with "the loss of his seals. The emperor was at that time in retirement "in the Kan-ts'üen palace, owing to the heat. The chief secretary "of the minister rode thither post-haste, to inform him of the state "of matters. On the emperor asking him what the minister had "done, the officer said: 'he has hidden himself, and has not yet "presumed to bring out troops'. The emperor furiously exclaimed: "'What do you say? has he hidden himself, while such a turmoil "is rife? that minister utterly lacks the character of the ruler of "Cheu, for did not the latter slay Kwan and Ts'ai?'[1] He then gave him "a sealed order for the minister, running thus: 'For the catching "and beheading of rebels there are, of course, rewards as well as "punishments; build armoured turrets on ox-cars, and do not engage "hand to hand with swords, lest many soldiers be killed or wounded; "shut fast the city-gates, lest any rebels escape'.

"No sooner had the crown-prince slain Kiang Ch'ung than he "raised soldiers and issued a manifesto, in which he stated that "the emperor was lying extremely ill in Kan-ts'üen, and depraved "ministers apparently were plotting rebellion. The emperor then "travelled from Kan-ts'üen to the Kien-chang palace, to the west "of the city, and called to arms the troops in San-fu (the Metropolis "and its environs) and the nearest districts, as also the ministers "and commanders in the province who enjoyed a salary up to two "thousand stones of rice. But the prince also commissioned men "for the execution of his orders, and awarded an amnesty to all

庚寅太子亡、皇后自殺、八月辛亥太子自殺于湖 Ch. 6, l. 32.

1 Kwan and Ts'ai were sons of king Wen, the founder of the Cheu dynasty they rose in rebellion in 1115 b.C., but were put down by Wen's brother, the prince of Cheu.

"the government prisoners and exiles in Ch'ang-ngan; he raised "the soldiery of the arsenals, and told his second Preceptor Shih Teh, "his guests, Chang Kwang etc. to divide the command among "themselves. And he sent Jü Heu, who was imprisoned in Ch'ang-"ngan, with a warrant to Ch'ang-sui and the Süen-khüh (palace) "to raise the Hunnish cavalry there; but when these horsemen "were all equipped and assembled, Mang T'ung, the Intendant of "the Gates and Doors, who was sent from Ch'ang-ngan in pursuit "of him, seized Jü Heu, and telling the Huns that the warrant "was forged and that they should not obey it, beheaded Jü Heu, "and marched those horsemen into Ch'ang-ngan. The soldiers of "the river squadron were also called to arms, and placed under "the command of Shang-khiu Ch'ing, the chief of the State "Ceremonial. The warrants of the house of Han were red, but "as the prince was using warrants thus coloured, others with "a yellow yaktail upon it were now used instead, to distinguish "them from his[1].

---

[1] 其秋戾太子爲江充所譖。殺充、發兵、入丞相府、屈氂挺身逃、亡其印綬。是時上避暑在甘泉宮。丞相長史乘疾置以聞。上問丞相何爲、對曰、丞相祕之、未敢發兵。上怒曰、事籍籍如此、何謂祕也、丞相無周公之風矣、周公不誅管蔡乎。乃賜丞相璽書、曰、捕斬反者自有賞罰、以牛車爲櫓、毋接短兵、多殺傷士衆、堅閉城門、毋令反者得出。

太子既誅充、發兵、宣言、帝在甘泉病困、疑有變姦臣欲作亂。上於是從甘泉來幸城西建章宮、詔發三輔近縣兵、部中二千石以下丞相兼將。太子亦遣使者撟制、赦長安中都官囚徒、發武庫兵、命少傅石德及賓客張光等分將。使長安囚如侯持節發長水及宣曲胡騎、皆以裝會、侍郎莽通使長安因追捕如侯、告胡人曰節有詐、勿聽也、遂斬如侯、引騎入長安。又發輯濯士、以予大鴻臚商丘成。初漢節純赤、以太子持赤節故更爲黃旄加上、以相別。

"The heir-apparent ordered Jen Ngan, Inspector of the army of the "North, to march out this army; but this grandee received the war- "rant, closed the gate of his camp, and refused obedience to the "prince. Thereupon the prince led on his troops, and drove on the "people of the four wards by many tens of thousands. At Ch'ang-loh, "at the western barrier-gate, they met with the army of the minister "Liu Khüh-li. The hand-to-hand struggle lasted five days; tens of "thousands were slain, and the blood flowed down into the moats, "but as the minister steadily received re-inforcements, the crown- "prince was defeated.

"He fled southward to the Fuh-ang gate of the city, and "managed to escape through it, for T'ien Jen, officer for the Mainte- "nance of Order, whose duty it was to keep the gate closed, "allowed him to pass under cover of the night. The minister "was about to behead him for that crime; but the co-minister "Pao Shing-chi said: 'An officer of this rank, with a salary of two "thousand stones of rice, may not be put to death without imperial "permission having first been asked; dare you arbitrarily behead "him?' The minister spared him. When the emperor was informed "of those things, he grew hot with anger, and sent delegates to "punish the culprits. They interrogated the co-minister, saying: "'The officer for the Maintenance of Order has allowed a rebel to "escape, and the law obliged the minister to behead him for it; "why have you on your own authority interfered with him?' The "co-minister, seized with fright, committed suicide. Jen Ngan of the "northern army was declared guilty by them for having accepted the "warrant of the prince and thereby proved himself a double-faced "traitor, and T'ien Jen was declared guilty for having allowed the "prince to pass; and they were cut asunder through the middle"[1].

[1] 太子召監北軍使者任安發北軍兵、安受簡已閉軍門、不肯應太子。太子引兵、去毆四市人凡數萬衆。至長樂西闕下逢丞相軍、合戰五日、死者數萬人、血流入溝中、丞相附兵浸多、太子軍敗。

南奔覆盎城門得出、會夜司直田仁部閉城門、坐令太子得出。丞相欲斬仁、御史大夫暴勝之謂丞相曰、司直吏二千石當先請、奈何擅斬之。丞相釋仁。上聞而大怒、下吏責。問御史大夫曰、

Szĕ-ma Ts'ien tells us, that "the tribe of T'ien Jen was exterminated in Hing city" [1]. The historian Ch'u [2] also gives an account of the fate of the two men, and says that Jen Ngan, on receiving the warrant of the prince, did not march out his troops to take the side of the emperor, because he preferred to await the result of the struggle and then side with the victorious party [3].

The biography of Liu Khüh-li further contains the following notices concerning the fate of some of the chief heroes and victims of that terrible drama: "The emperor declared that Mang T'ung, "the Intendant of the Gates and Doors who had arrested the rebel "chief Jü Heu, as also King Kien, a young man in Ch'ang-ngan "who, together with Mang T'ung, had caught Shih Teh, the second "Instructor of the prince, had done deeds of first rate merit, and "that the chief of the State Ceremonial Shang-khiu Ch'ing had "bravely fought to catch the rebel commander Chang Kwang. He "therefore invested them with the dignity of vassals, respectively of "Chung-hioh, Teh, and Tu. The guests of the prince, who had passed "through the palace-gates, were put to death; those who had in "the service of the prince levied troops for the rebellion were "punished, in accordance with the laws, with extermination of their "tribes, and all officials and warriors who had been pressed into the "service of the prince were banished to the Tun-hwang province ....[4].

---

司直縱反者、丞相斬之法也、大夫何以擅止之。勝之惶恐自殺。及北軍使者任安坐受太子節、懷二心、司直田仁縱太子、皆要斬. Ch. 66, ll. 3 *seq.* Jen Ngan from his prison wrote a letter to Szĕ-ma Ts'ien, who was his friend, to implore his intercession. A translation of the latter's answer is given by prof. Chavannes in his "Memoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien", Introduction, pp. 226 *sqq.*

1 仁族死陘城. Historical Records, ch. 104, l. 4.

2 Generally called Master Ch'u 褚先生, perhaps named Ch'u Shao-sun 褚少孫. By his hand many interpolations have been inserted in the Historical Records.

3 Historical Records, ch. 104, l. 7.

4 上曰、侍郎莽通獲反將如侯、長安男子景建從通獲少傅石德、可謂元功矣、大鴻臚商丘成力戰獲反將張光。其封通爲重合侯、建爲德侯、成爲秺侯。諸太子賓客嘗出入宮門皆坐誅、其遂太子發兵以反法族、吏士劫略者皆徙敦煌郡。。。

"In the next year, when Li Kwang-li, the generalissimo of "'Rh-shi (Nisā), marched out at the head of an army against the "Huns, the minister offered him a parting meal, and accompanied "him to the bridge across the Wei river. Here he took leave of "Kwang-li, who said: 'I hope, my lord, that you will as soon as "possible persuade the emperor to appoint the prince of Ch'ang-yih "to the dignity of heir-apparent; should he become our emperor, "would you, my lord, regret it?' Liu Khüh-li promised that he "would do so. The prince of Ch'ang-yih was the son of the harem "lady Li, the generalissimo's younger sister; and the daughter "of the generalissimo was the wife of Liu Khüh-li's son; both "therefore had good reasons for desiring that appointment. At "that time the courtiers were so much afflicted by the proceedings "with regard to wu ku, that they caused a false accusation to "be lodged against the minister and his consort by Kwoh Jang, "to the effect that he had frequently dispatched wu to sacri- "fice to the earth-gods and to utter spells and incantations "against their imperial lord, as also that, in concert with the "generalissimo of 'Rh-shi, he had prayed and sacrificed, in order "that the prince of Ch'ang-yih might become emperor. Officers "proposed that the emperor should have the matter investigated. "Liu Khüh-li was found guilty of high-treason and violation of "the Tao; he was by imperial command placed in a cage on a "cart and driven round, and thereafter cut asunder through the "middle in the eastern market. The heads of his wife and sons "were exposed on stakes in the Hwa-yang street. The generalis- "simo's wife and sons were also seized. On his receiving this "news, he surrendered to the Huns, whereupon his tribe was "exterminated" [1].

---

[1] 其明年貳師將軍李廣利將兵出擊匈奴、丞相爲祖道送至渭橋。與廣利辭決、廣利曰、願君侯早請昌邑王爲太子、如立爲帝、君侯長何憂乎。屈氂許諾。昌邑王者貳師將軍女弟李夫人子也、貳師女爲屈氂子妻、故共欲立焉。是時治巫蠱獄急內者、令郭穰告丞相夫人、以丞相數有譴使巫祠社祝詛主上有惡言、及與貳師共禱祠、欲令昌邑王爲帝。有司奏請按驗。罪至大逆不道、有詔載屈氂厨車以徇、要斬東市。妻子

The Punishment of Cutting asunder.

The carnage in Ch'ang-ngan, then, had by no means put an end to the hunt for breeders of w u k u: indeed, the execution of Liu Khüh-li with his wife and sons took place in the sixth month of the year 90, that is, about ten months later [1]. And that the pursuit even then went on with unrelenting cruelty is proved by the fact that Ch'é Ts'ien-ts'iu (see p. 834), who had been appointed minister in the place of Liu Khüh-li, "on commencing his govern-" mental career, became aware that the executions of the two last " years on account of the proceedings against the heir-apparent conti-" nued with increasing severity, so that all subjects lived in terror. " Wishing to cure the emperor of his mania and thus bring rest and " consolation to the people, he and his co-ministers who drew a salary " of two thousand stones of rice, presented to him a wish for his long " life, with an eulogy of his virtues and excellence, and advice to show " benevolence and out of compassion to remit the punishments.... " But the emperor gave the following answer: [2]

"It is in consequence of my lack of virtue that, because the prime " minister and the generalissimo of 'Rh-shi plotted rebellion, the " w u k u calamity has spread in every direction amidst officers " and grandees ... When Kiang Ch'ung had taken his measures " in the Kan-ts'üen palace, his men penetrated as far as the pep-" per rooms [3] of the Wei-ying palace, thus discovering the plot of " Kung-sun King-shing, and that Li Yü with his partisans intended " to join the Huns; my ministers had revealed nothing of those " things to me. And now you yourself, my minister, have found k u " in the ground in the Orchid-terrace; the proofs then are clear " and evident enough. Of the rest of those w u a considerable " number are still at liberty and do not cease their work; secret " rebels assail my person; k u is bred far and near; this depresses

---

梟首華陽街。貳師將軍妻子亦收。貳師聞之降匈奴、宗族遂滅.

1 Books of the Early Han Dynasty. ch. 6. l. 33.

2 初千秋始視事、見上連年治太子獄誅罰尤多、羣下恐懼。思欲寬廣上意、尉安衆庶、迺與御史中二千石共上壽、頌德美、勸上施恩、惠緩刑罰。。。上報曰、

3 The private apartments of the empress were so called because the plaster of the walls was mixed with pepper to make them warm and fragrant.

"me; can a long life be in store for me under such circumstances?...
"Do not again make such propositions to me!' More than a year
"after, the emperor fell ill, and appointed his son by the lady of
"the Keu-yih abode as crown-prince" [1].

As this appointment occurred in the second month of the year 87 b.C. [2], we see that the emperor still refused to stop the persecution of sorcerers when two years and some months had elapsed since the rising in Ch'ang-ngan. Probably it was not even discontinued until his death, which took place two days after the appointment of his successor. History further contains many pages which depict in sober terms the hellish cruelty with which the persecution was carried on. One chapter *e. g.* relates:

"The heir-apparent had married the lady Shi, who had borne
"him an imperial grandson; this prince married the lady Wang,
"who gave birth to the (future) emperor Süen. This boy was only
"a few months old when the w u k u incident occurred. The heir-
"apparent with his consort, and the imperial grandson with his
"consort Wang all lost their lives thereby, and the great-grandson,
"though in swaddling clothes, was nevertheless to be punished, and
"confined in the prison connected with the provincial building.
"But Ping Kih, an officer to the Chief Justice of the Court, when
"the measures against w u k u were also being applied within that
"building, took compassion on the innocence of the great-grandson,
"and ordered two female exiles whose punishments had been remit-
"ted, namely Chao Ching-khing of Hwai-yang, and Hu Tsü of the
"city of Wei, to feed him in turn with their milk. And secretly
"he gave him clothing and food, and visited him, and showed him
"much kindness.

"The affair of the w u k u had lasted two years, and was not

---

[1] 朕之不德自左丞相與貳師陰謀逆亂、巫蠱之禍流及士大夫。。。曩者江充先治甘泉宮、人轉至未央椒房、以及敬聲之疇、李禹之屬謀入匈奴、有司無所發。今丞相親掘蘭臺蠱、驗所明知也。至今餘巫頗脫、不止、陰賊侵身、遠近爲蠱、朕媿之、其何壽之有。。毋有復言。後歲餘武帝疾、立皇子鉤弋夫人男爲太子. The same work, ch. 66, fl. 6 *seq.*

[2] Ch. 6, l. 34.

"yet settled, when, in the second year of the Hen yuen period "(87 b.C.), the emperor fell ill, and alternately resided in the "Ch'ang-yang and the Wu-tsoh palaces. A seer of influences then "stated, that there prevailed in the prisons of Ch'ang-ngan an "influence which might produce a Son of Heaven. The emperor "sent his delegates to repair to the various government gaols in the "capital, and all the prisoners, whether they were there for slight "offences or for heavy crimes, were put to death. Kwoh Jang, chief "member of the Board of Revenue (?), came that night to the prison "of the provincial building, but Ping Kih closed it, so that this "delegate could not enter. The great-grandson was thus saved by "Ping Kih, because a general amnesty was proclaimed; on which "Ping Kih conveyed the great-grandson to the house of his grand-"mother and the lady Shi" [1].

And thus was saved the life of a child destined to mount the throne in 73 b.C., after the death of Wu's successor. From a biography of Ping Kih in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty we learn, that Kwoh Jang entered a complaint about his conduct; but the emperor saw the finger of heaven in what he had done, and promulgated a general amnesty. And thus "the inmates of that prison owed their lives to Ping Kih only" [2].

After all it can hardly appear unnatural that in those bloody years the capital actually swarmed with spies and police, specially

---

[1] 太子納史良娣、生史皇孫、皇孫納王夫人、生宣帝。生數月遭巫蠱事。太子良娣皇孫王夫人皆遇害、曾孫雖在襁褓、猶坐、收繫郡邸獄。而丙吉爲廷尉監、治巫蠱於郡邸、憐曾孫之亡辜、使女徒復作、淮陽趙徵卿渭城胡組更乳養。私給衣食、視遇、甚有恩。

巫蠱事連歲不決、至後元二年武帝疾、往來長楊五柞宮。望氣者言長安獄中有天子氣。上遣使者分條中都官獄、繫者輕重皆殺之。內謁者令郭穰夜至郡邸獄、吉拒閉、使者不得入。曾孫賴吉得全、因遭大赦、吉迺載曾孫送祖母史良娣家. The same work, ch. 8, ll. 1 *seq.*

[2] 郡邸獄繫者獨賴吉得生. Ch. 74, l. 8.

appointed to hunt down sorcerous conspirators. The Standard History states, "that chiefs of underlings and judges were appointed by "Wu in the fourth year of the Ching hwo period (b.C. 89), "who were bearers of warrants, and attached to the offices of "the capital. Their followers were twelve hundred in number; "they arrested people engaged in wu ku, and searched for "rebellious and seditious folks. Afterwards they were abolished" [1]. Wu ku cabals seem to have thereupon been of frequent occurrence. We read that even the son of that same Han Yueh who assisted Kiang Ch'ung and was slain by the friends of the crown-prince (page 832), was implicated in such sorcery, and that his tribe then had a narrow escape from extermination: "Han Yueh found ku in the ground in the palace of the heir-"apparent, and was slain by this prince. His son Hing, who "inherited his dignity, was found guilty of wu ku and was put "to death; but the emperor decided, that whereas (his father) the "Yiu-kih general had lost his life in the imperial service, nobody "should be condemned along with this culprit" [2], that is to say, his family or clan should not be exterminated.

A terrible court-cabal of the same kind occurred under the Later Han dynasty. "Yin, the consort of the emperor Hwo, was promoted "to the dignity of empress in the eighth year of the Yung yuen "period (A.D. 96). Her maternal grandmother Teng Chu had "access to the Palace apartments. In the summer of the fourteenth "year of that period it was reported to the Throne that the em-"press with Teng Chu were engaged in wu ku sorcery. The matter "thus being betrayed, the emperor commissioned his palace adjutant "Chang Shen and the chancellor Ch'en Pao to examine them by "various means of torture in the prisons of the Palace, and pass sentence "on them. The depositions of Teng Chu, her two sons Fung and "I, and three younger brothers of the empress, named Yih, Fu, "and Ch'ang, were collated, and they were admitted to have sacri-

[1] 司隸校尉武帝征和四年初置、持節、從中都官。徒千二百人、捕巫蠱、督大姦猾。後罷. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 19 I, l. 13.

[2] 掘蠱太子宮、爲太子所殺。子興嗣、坐巫蠱誅、上曰、游擊將軍死事、無論坐者. The same work, ch. 33, l. 10.

"ficed with imprecations and spells, and therefore to be guilty of "high-treason and heterodoxy.

"Fung, I, and Fu died in gaol under the torture inflicted on "them to extort confession. The empress was transported to the "T'ung palace, where she died of sorrow; her father committed "suicide, and Yih and Ch'ang, together with Teng Chu's whole "family, were banished to Jih-nan, in the Pi-king district. And "her clansfolk and brothers living within and without (the capital) "were dismissed from office, and sent back to their villages. But "in the fourth year of the Yung ch'u period (A.D. 110) the "empress-dowager Teng promulgated an edict allowing the exiles "of Yin's family to return to their old home, and prescribing "restitution of their property to an amount of over five millions of "coins"[1].

Under the Han dynasty there existed special laws imposing the penalties of death and mutilation on those who caused such imminent peril to the safety of the emperor and his house. In his commentary upon the passage which we have quoted from the *Cheu li* on page 826, Ching Khang-ch'ing, who lived in the second century, states, that in his time "the law against rebellion prescribed that "those venturing to employ k u against others, or inducing people "to do so, were to be put to death and mutilated in the market"[2]. No doubt the crime was combined with theft or robbery, for,

---

[1] 和帝陰皇后永元八年遂立爲皇后。后外祖母鄧朱出入宮掖。十四年夏有言后與朱共挾巫蠱道。事發覺、帝遂使中常侍張愼與尚書陳褒於掖庭獄雜考案之。朱及二子奉毅與后弟軼輔敞辭語相連、及以爲祠祭祝詛大逆無道。

奉毅輔考死獄中。后遷于桐宮、以憂死、父自殺、軼敞及朱家屬徙日南比景縣。宗親內外昆弟皆免官、還田里。永初四年鄧太后詔赦陰氏徙者歸故郡、還其資財五百餘萬. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 10, I, l. 16.

[2] 賊律曰、敢蠱人及教令者棄市. Khienlung edition of the *Cheu li*, ch. 37, l. 35.

as Yü Pao of the fourth century teaches us, k u was a source of wealth for its breeders. "In the Yung-yang principality (in the "present province of Honan) there lived a family of the Liao tribe, "which had become wealthy by engaging for many generations in the "breeding of k u. Afterwards one of its members married a bride, "whom they did not tell about those practices. Once when they "had all gone out, leaving her alone to take care of the house, "her eyes fell upon a large vase in one of the rooms. She raised "the cover, and seeing a big snake in the vase, boiled some water, "which she poured into it to kill the beast. On the return of "the family she told them what she had done, thereby throwing "them into fright and sorrow. Not long after this they all died to "a man of a contagious disease" [1].

Thus, according to this tale, the k u turns itself against its breeders should they harm it, or neglect to protect it properly. Yü Pao also teaches us, that its reptiles or insects may do their work in the shape of quite other animals, as *e. g.* dogs; which cannot surprise us, knowing that metamorphoses of animals into others are, in the opinion of the Chinese, most common phenomena: "In P'o-yang "(in the north of the present Kiangsi pr.) one Chao Sheu kept "canine k u. Once, when he was called on by Ch'en Ch'en, six or "seven big yellow dogs rushed out at this man, all at once barking "at him. And when my paternal uncle, on coming home, had a "meal with Chao Sheu's wife, he spit blood, and was saved from "death in the nick of time by a drink prepared from minced stalks "of an orange-tree. K u contains spectral beings or spectres, which "change their spectral shapes into those of beings of various kinds, "such as dogs or swine, insects or snakes, their victims thus never "being able to know what are their real forms. When they are "put into operation against people, those whom they hit or touch "all perish" [2].

---

[1] 癸陽郡有一家、姓廖、累世爲蠱、以此致富。後取新婦、不以此語之。遇家人咸出、唯此婦守舍、忽見屋中有大缸。婦試發之、見有大蛇、婦乃作湯灌殺之。及家人歸、婦具白其事、舉家驚惋。未幾其家疾疫、死亡略盡. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 12.

[2] 鄱陽趙壽有犬蠱。時陳岑詣壽、忽有大黃犬六七、晻出吠岑。後余相伯歸、與壽婦食、吐血、

"Tsiang Shi, the husband of my wife's sister, had a hired work-
"man in employ, who fell sick and passed blood. The physician
"opined that he was stricken by k u, and secretly, without informing
"him of it, strewed some j a n g-h o root under his sleeping-mat.
"The patient then madly exclaimed: 'The k u which devours
"me is ceasing to spread'; and then he cried: 'it vanishes little
"by little'. The present generations often make use of j a n g-h o
"root to conquer k u, and now and then it has a good effect.
"Some think it is 'the efficacious herb'" [1], mentioned in the *Cheu li* (see page 826).

Ch'en Tsang-khi, the distinguished authority on Materia Medica in the eighth century, whose writings we have already quoted many times, was no stranger to the secrets of k u sorcery. "It was", he says, "a stupid characteristic of the ancients to make k u. People
"bent on the acquisition of wealth put all sorts of insects or reptiles
"into a jar, and when a year had passed away they opened it, to
"find only one insect or reptile which had devoured the others to
"the last. This one they called k u. It could render itself as invisible
"as spectres or spirits, and when it inflicted injury on any one,
"he died. When such an insect or reptile has killed a man by its
"bites, it happens that it comes forth from the apertures of his
"body; and if it is then watched and caught, and dried in the
"sun, it becomes a source of evil" [2].

In an interesting work on men and things of the southern provinces in the twelfth century we find the following lines:

---

幾死乃屑桔梗以飲之而愈。蠱有怪物若鬼、其妖形變化雜類殊種、或爲狗豕、或爲蟲蛇、其人不自知其形狀。行之於百姓、所中皆死. *Op. et cap. cit.*

[1] 余外婦姊夫蔣士有傭客得疾下血。醫以中蠱、乃密以蘘荷根布席下、不使知。乃狂言曰、食我蠱者乃張小小也、乃呼小小亡云。今世攻蠱多用蘘荷根、往往驗。蘘荷或謂嘉草. *Op. et cap. cit.*

[2] 古人愚質造蠱。圖富皆取百虫入甕中、經年開之、必有一虫盡食諸虫。卽此名爲蠱。能隱形似鬼神、與人作禍然終。是虫鬼咬人至死者或從人諸竅中出、伺候取之曝乾、有患. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 42, l. 31.

"In Kwangsi there are two kinds of k u poison, respectively "killing quickly or slowly, that is to say, in a few moments "or in half a year. If any one has incurred the dislike of some- "body, the latter treats him with respect before the eyes of the "world, but secretly tries to harm him (with k u). In the years "k e n g-ch'e n of the K h i e n t a o period (A.D. 1170—1172) there "lived to the east of the chief city of Khin-chen a seller of rice-gruel, "who bred k u poison. The secret was discovered and he confessed "his crime, relating that, when they made that venom at home, "his wife, having stripped herself quite naked and untied her "hair, sacrificed at night; they then prepared a bowl of rice-gruel, "upon which grasshoppers, butterflies and hundreds of insects came "down from above the house to eat, the things they left behind or "dropped being used by them as poison. Should any one wish to assure "himself whether a house contains k u poison, he has only to enter, "and if he finds no dust in it neither above nor below, it is "such a house. Whenever Li-t'ung or Khi-t'ung people set out wine "to regale guests, it is customary for the host to taste of it first, "to show them that they need not have any suspicions" [1].

Another author of the Sung dynasty wrote:

"Of the k u poison mentioned in classical writings several varieties "exist. In Kwangtung and Kwangsi the mountaineers make it of "various insects and vipers, which they put into a pot or bowl to "devour each other till only one survives, which they then call "the k u. They use the poison of this animal to harm men, putting "it for this purpose into their wine or food. When any one is "affected by such poison, it produces in him cramps at his heart "and in his belly, and a feeling as if some beast were gnawing "thereat; he both vomits and passes a bloody liquid resembling "rotten meat, and unless he places himself under medical treatment

[1] 廣西蠱毒有二種、有急殺人者、有慢殺人者、急者頃刻死、慢者半年死。人有不快於己者則陽敬而陰圖之。乾道庚辰欽州城東有賣漿者蓄蠱毒。敗而伏辜云、其家造毒、婦人倮形披髮夜祭、作糜粥一盤、蝗虫蛺蝶百虫自室上來食、遺失乃藥也。欲知蠱毒之家、入其門、上下無織埃者是矣。今黎峒溪峒人置酒延客、主必先嘗者、示客以不疑也. *Ling wai tai tah*, ch. 10.

"without delay, his five viscera are devoured, and he dies. There "are slow and quick diseases of this kind; the latter are acute "and entail death in some ten days; the others may last a year, "during which the poison circulates through the patient's whole "belly. Respiration stops, strength wanes, the bones become heavy "and the joints stiffen; and no sooner does the disease manifest its "presence than the heart and the belly perform their functions with "undue haste, while all the food which the patient takes changes "into k u, which, slowly corroding his principal vitals and his "viscera, causes his death. And when he is dead, the disease "spreads its contagion to others, thus forming a source of k u. "The way to ascertain its presence is to let the patient spit in "water, for he suffers of k u or not according as the spittle sinks "or floats. Or he may take a big pea in his mouth, and see whether "it swells up and its skin becomes loose, in which case he is a "victim of k u; but he is not so if the pea does not become soft, "nor sheds its skin. Another method is, to place the skin of a "k u h bird under the patient's sleeping-place without letting him "know it, for k u is at work or not, according as the disease then "increases in intensity or not" [1].

Authors of the Ming dynasty, in writing of k u, generally copy the statements of earlier authors, so that, evidently, in their time these black art practices in the main continued in the old ways.

---

[1] 經書所載蠱毒有數種。廣中山間人造作之以虫蛇之類、用器皿盛貯、聽其互相食啖、有一物獨存者則謂之蠱。取其毒於酒食中、能禍於人。中其毒也令人心腹絞痛、如有物咬、吐下血皆如爛肉、若不卽治、蝕人五臟卽死。然此病有緩有急、急者倉卒十數日便死、緩者延引歲月、遊周腹內。氣力羸憊、骨節沉重、發卽心腹煩躁而病人所食之物亦變化爲蠱、漸侵食腑臟則死矣。死則病流注染著旁人、遂成蠱注也。欲驗之法令病人唾水、沉者是蠱、不沉者非蠱也。或含一大豆、豆脹皮脫者蠱也、豆不爛脫非蠱也。以鵠皮置病人臥下、勿令病人知、病劇者是蠱、病不劇者非蠱也. *Tsi sheng fang*, art. 論治.

A few new particulars are given us by Leu Ying: "In the hilly "regions of Kwangtung and Kwangsi the people keep in one pot "snakes and vipers, centipedes, millipedes, frogs, and all sorts of "insects and reptiles, to make them devour each other; the one "that conquers all the rest is, they think, possessed of spiritual "power (l i n g), and they therefore sacrifice to it. They put its "poison into vegetables, fruits, or other food and drink, with which "they then do harm to others, thus recklessly trying to establish "their own happiness and to become rich and honoured. If a man "is hit by such sorcery, the symptoms manifest themselves in ten "thousand forms, and it happens that in one year many people "perish by it. There are families who offer incense and sacrifices "(to that vermin) in the same way as they do to their domestic "ancestors. It is also called k u. The sickness caused by it the "world calls k u disease; this may vary, in connexion with the clan-"names, according to the five musical notes, so that five varieties "of k u are mentioned. All such things are common in depraved "and vicious border countries, but in the capital I have seldom "heard of them" [1].

Li Shi-chen says, that "there exists in the southern regions k u "of lizards, of beetles which lay their eggs in dung-balls which "they roll up, and of crickets, of gold caterpillars, and of herbs, "as also k u which draws out life, and yet other poisons, and "that every region has so many remedies against them that it "is impossible to put down all these in writing. According to "Ts'ai T'ao's *Ts'ung hwa* [2], gold caterpillars first existed in the "Shuh region (Szĕ-ch'wen), and only in recent times did they

---

[1] 兩廣山間人以蛇虺蜈蚣蜒蛐蝦蟆等百虫同器畜之、使其自相食啖、勝者爲靈以祀之。取其毒雜以菜果飲食之類以害人、妄意要福以圖富貴。人或中之證狀萬端、或年歲間人多死。又有人家香火奉祀如家先者。亦謂之蠱。能病人、世謂之蠱疰、以姓類屬五音、故謂之五蠱。此皆邊陲邪僻之地多有此事、中都則蔑聞也. *I hioh kang muh*, sect. 論證治.

2 That is to say, the *T'ieh-wei shan ts'ung t'an*, probably written in the first half of the twelfth century, for which see *infra*, page 868. The quotation occurs in its sixth chapter.

"find their way into Hukwang (*i. e.* Hupeh and Hunan), Fuhkien, "Kwangtung, and Kwangsi, gradually becoming very general "there" [1].

Our knowledge of the matter is also increased by the following notice concerning the Kwang-cheu region: "The T'ung people (?) "breed poison in the following way: on the fifth day of the fifth "moon (the theoretical apogee of summer heat) they collect all "sorts of reptiles and insects, none bigger than snakes or smaller "than lice, and place them in a pot, to devour each other; and "the last that remains they keep, and let it loose against men to "kill them. If it is a snake that remains, they speak of snake-ku; "if it is a louse, they call it louse-ku; it devours the five intestines "of the victims, who all die of the consequences. They also have "flying poisons, the one called 'that which draws out life', and "the other 'the gold caterpillar'; these are men-poisoning spectres. "Those who employ them soon become rich. The flying poison "of these spectres enters into food and drink, and when such cooked "things then enter a belly, the spectre revives therein and inflates "the victim till he bursts, thus causing his death. It is also called "'that which severs the vitals', and when such vegetable food "has entered the mouth, death follows immediately. Accordingly, "when rich people, who occupy themselves with such practices, behave "as spendthrifts, then indeed severe measures may be taken against "them, and whereas the crime in question flourishes in every way "and is practised very commonly, good governors and rulers are to "take prompt measures against it" [2].

---

[1] 南方有蜥蜴蠱、蛲蜋蠱、馬蝗蠱、金蠶蠱、草蠱、挑生蠱、等毒、諸方大有主治之法、不能悉紀。蔡絛叢話云金蠶始於蜀中、近及湖廣閩奧浸多. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 42, l. 31.

[2] 峒民畜毒、其法以五月五日聚百虫、大至蛇、小至蝨、置器中、令自相啖、存者留之、行以殺人。如蛇存則曰蛇蠱、蝨存則曰蝨蠱、食人五臟、無不死者。又有飛毒、一曰挑生、又曰金蠶、乃鬼之能毒人者。事之驟富。其鬼飛毒入飲食中、熟物入腹、復生必脹、裂而後死。又曰斷腸、草食纔入口、須臾立斃。因之以圖賴人富室嘗遭

The animals or animal-spectres let loose by sorcerers upon their victims are far from attacking these always in mysterious, covert ways. "When the scholar Chu I-jen was a clerk in Khing-yuen "in the province of Kwangsi, the prefect Ch'en Hi-fang engaged "him as his private secretary. Now it came to pass in the hottest "time of the year that the prefect gave a drinking-feast to his "colleagues and friends. On going to table, they put off their caps "(on account of the heat), and saw a big frog squatting on the top "of Chu's head. They knocked the beast off, which vanished as soon "as it came down to the ground. They drank till midnight, and "then the frog crawled up again on to Chu's head without his "perceiving it; they knocked it off as before, and as it fell on the "table, the dainties and nuts all fell to pieces, while the beast dis- "appeared. When Chu retired into his room, he felt an ulcer come "up on his head. Next day all the hair on his crown had fallen "out, and on the spot a swelling like a wen with a red skin "had appeared; suddenly it broke, and a frog peeped out of it, its "two fore-legs resting on the crown of the head, and its hind legs "remaining hidden in the skin. They pricked it with a needle, but "it did not die; they pulled at it, but this gave the patient into- "lerable suffering, and the physicians had to desist. Then an old "gate-keeper said: 'this is a case of k u; the beast must die if "you prick it with a hair-pin of gold'. They tried it, and with "success. The frog was extracted from the head, and Chu suffered "nothing more; but in his skull-bone a sunken place remained, "resembling a bowl with its opening upwards" [1].

---

蕩產、誠能嚴禁治、其圖賴之罪則全活甚衆、良司牧者宜亟行也. TS. sect. 職方, ch. 1308.

[1] 朱生依仁工書廣西慶遠府陳太守希芳延爲記室。方盛暑太守招僚友飲。就席各去冠、衆見朱生頂上蹲一大蝦蟆。拂之、落地忽失所在。飲至夜分、蝦蟆又登朱頂、而朱不知、同人又爲拂、落席間殺核盡爲所毀、復不見。朱生歸寢覺頂間作癢。次日頂上髮盡脫、當頂墳起如瘤作紅色皮、忽迸裂、一蟆自內伸頭瞪目而望、前二足踞頂、自腰以下在頭皮內、針刺不死、引出之、痛不可耐、醫不能治。有老門役曰、此蠱也、

Evidently there is no reason for surprise that snakes, grubs, and such-like vermin are especially selected by the Chinese to be let loose against people in order to poison them, or to corrode their vitals and intestines: indeed, destructive worms and tetters, which so frequently exist in man, must be easily identified by simple ignorance with gnawing vermin of similar shape living outside his body. This explains why grubs living in the ground, in trees and in wood, as also maggots which destroy food and other things, are often denoted by the character 蠱 k u. We have seen on page 827 that the physician of Ts'in declared that corn-destroying insects were called k u. And we read in the *Shuh i ki*, that "towards the "end of the reign of the Tsin dynasty, King-cheu was visited by "prolonged rains, so that the paddy changed into k u, and k u "thus harmed the people"[1]. Finally we may remind the reader, that snakes are prominent among the devils which infest and kill men by feeding on their intestines (page 629).

We have seen that printed evidence concurs in pointing in particular to the southern provinces of China as breeding-places of k u. Now what are the gold caterpillars of which (see pp. 850—851) Li Shi-chen speaks in terms which show that these insects in his time played a prominent part in this branch of sorcery?

Statements about them, which we have found in books, by no means satisfy our curiosity. Our attempts to procure a specimen in China have all been vain, our male and female acquaintances always declaring it impossible to get one; evidently they regarded our request to find one for us as evidence of a suspicion that sorcery was practised by them. I had to content myself with the information, scanty but unanimous, that a gold caterpillar is a very venomous little snake or viper, worm, or larva of a bright yellow colour, perhaps luminiferous or phosphorescent.

The insect is mentioned by an author as early as the eighth century: "Ch'en Ts'ang-khi says, that ashes of old flowered silk are "a cure for poison of k u of insects or reptiles which eat such silk. "His commentator adds, that those insects are coiled up like a finger-"ring, and eat old red silk and flowered silk, just as caterpillars "eat leaves; hence, considered in the light of the present day, those

---

以金簪刺之當死。試之、果驗。乃出其蟆而朱生無他恙、惟頂骨下陷若仰盂然. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 19.

[1] 晉末荊州久雨、粟化爲蠱、蠱害民. Second part.

"insects are gold caterpillars" [1]. Thus wrote Li Shi-chen in his great standard work on Materia Medica.

An author of the Sung dynasty asserts, "that a gold caterpillar "is a caterpillar with a gold colour, which is fed with silk from "Shuh (Szĕ-ch'wen). Its ordure, put in food or drink, poisons those "who take it, causing certain death. It can draw towards a man the "possessions of such victims, and thus make him enormously rich. "It is extremely difficult to get rid of it, for even water, fire, weapons "or swords can do it no harm. Usually the owner for this purpose "puts some gold or silver into a basket, places the caterpillar also "therein, and throws the basket away in a corner of the street, where "some one may pick it up and take it with him. He is then said "to have given his gold caterpillar in marriage" [2].

The great object connected with the keeping of such an insect, viz. the appropriation of the possessions of its victims, therefore is no other than that pursued by the grandees and ladies at Court under the Sui dynasty, who occupied themselves with sorcery by means of cats. This is brought out also by the following tale from a work of the Sung dynasty, which moreover, supplies us with some more particulars on the subject: —

"Tseu Lang, a literary graduate of the highest rank at Ch'i-cheu "(in the present Nganhwui), was indigent, but careful about his "conduct. One day intending to go to the outer borough, he "opened his door in the cool morning hour, when his eyes fell "upon a small basket of bamboo, which stood outside the gate. "As it was not sealed or locked, he opened it, and saw several "dozen silver wine-cups, weighing about a hundred ounces. The "silence of early morning still lay upon the street, so that there "was nobody to follow him or lay hands on him; so he took the "basket home, and said to his wife: 'these things have come hither

---

[1] 安陳藏器云、故錦灰療食錦蟲蠱毒。註云、虫屈如指環、食故緋帛錦如蠶之食葉也、今攷之、此蟲卽金蠶也. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 42, l. 31.

[2] 金蠶蠶金色、食以蜀錦。取其遺糞置飲食中毒人必死。善能致他財使人暴富。造之極難、雖水火兵刃不能害。多以金銀藏篋、置蠶其中、投之路隅、人或收之以去。謂之嫁金蠶. *Kwah i chi*; quoted in TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 191.

"without being brought by a man; can they be a present bestowed "on us by Heaven?' No sooner had he pronounced these words "than he felt a crawling insect upon his left thigh, and saw "there something glittering like bright gold. It was a caterpillar; "he plucked it off and flung it away, but in less time than it "took him to draw back his hand it was again on the same spot. "He crushed it under his foot, but though thus reduced to atoms, "it re-appeared on his breast and belly; he flung it into the water, "he cast it into a fire, he cut it with a knife and hacked it with "an axe, but it could be harmed in no way whatever, and was "everywhere, on the mats and coverlets of his bed, in his food "and drink.

"Lang, whom the matter extremely annoyed, consulted a friend "of his, a man of knowledge. 'My son', this person said, 'you "have been sold; this is what we call a gold caterpillar; thus "even our own village is visited by this evil! When the thing is "still small, it can bring calamity, but when full-sized, it enters "into the belly and there gnaws away the intestines and the "stomach'. This explanation enhanced Lang's fears so much that "he confessed he had picked up the basket. 'I know all about the "matter', replied the friend; 'if you employ the insect, you will "become enormously rich; every day it devours four inches of "flowered silk from Shuh, and if you gather its ordure and dry "and pulverize it, a little quantity of the powder, placed in food "or drink, is sure to kill him who takes it; the insect can then "appropriate whatever it likes, and, to reward you, will bring to "you every day the possessions of the victims'. But Lang smiled; "'to think that I should ever do such things!' said he. 'I know that

---

[1] 池州進士鄒閬食貧有守。一日將之外邑、凌晨啟戶、見一小箬籠子在門外。無封鎖、開視之、乃白金酒器數十事、約重百兩。殆曉寂、無追捕者、遂挈歸、謂其妻曰、此物無脛而至、豈天賜我乎。語未絕、閬覺左股上有物蠕動、見金色爛然。乃一蠶也、遂撥去之、未廻手復在舊處。以足踐之、雖隨足而碎、復在胸腹上矣、棄之於水、投之於火、刀傷、斧斫、皆不能害、衾裯飲食之間無所不在。

"you will not', the friend replied, 'but what else is to be done?' "'I shall put it in the basket again, with the other things that "were therein, and throw it away, then it will do no harm'. "'But', retorted the friend, 'when some one has kept this insect and "been enriched thereby, he is obliged, in order to send it away, to add "to the things he found on it twice as much by way of interest; he "is then said to give his gold caterpillar in marriage, and the insect "departs; but should he cast it away with nothing more than the "things he found with it, he cannot get rid of it at all. And, poor "as you are, how would you find that interest? Verily, I pity you'.

"Upon these words Lang lifted up his eyes to Heaven. Sighing "and panting he said: 'In all my life I have cultivated purity of "conduct; never, I swear it, have I lost my purity, and yet I am "so unhappy that such a thing should befall me!' He went home, "and said to his wife: 'I must employ it, there being no way "to get rid of it, but this I cannot do, and therefore my only resort "is death; matters of this sort are better remitted to the life here- "after'. With these words he grasped the insect, threw it into his "mouth, and swallowed it. The whole family ran to the rescue, but "they came too late. His wife and children wailed most bitterly, "exclaiming that he was sure to die; but some days elapsed, and "no evil befell him. He ate and drank as usual, and a month "later nothing had happened. Finally he died at a great age"[1].

---

[1] 閒甚惡之、遂訪友人之有識者。曰、吾子爲人所賣矣、此謂之金蠶、延至吾鄉、雖小而爲禍、頗大能入人腹中殘齧腸胃。閒愈懼、乃以籠挈之事告之。其友曰、吾固知之矣、子能事之卽得暴富矣、此蟲日食蜀錦四寸、收取糞乾而屑之、置少許於飲食中、人食之者必死、虫得所欲、日致宅財以報之。閒笑曰、吾豈爲此也。友曰、固知子不爲也、然則奈何。閒曰、復以此虫并舊物置籠中棄之、則無患矣。友人曰、凡人畜此虫久而致富、卽以數倍之息并元物以送之、謂之嫁金蠶、其蟲乃去、直以元物送之、必不可遣、今子貧居、豈有數倍之物乎、實爲子憂之。

閒乃仰天、嘆息曰、吾平生以清白自處、誓不

Our knowledge of the natural history of the gold caterpillar is enlarged a little by an author who assures us that it may also be found within precious stones. "A man in Tan-yang, on recovering an "inscribed stone tablet from under a pile of stones, found a round "pebble. He ground and polished it, thus discovering that it "consisted of two layers, one fitting upon the other. Grinding "it off to the size of a fist, he split it up, and out came an insect "resembling a grub, able to wriggle. As nobody could distinctly "make out what kind of thing it was, he threw it away; but "afterwards he was told, that men, if greedy of wealth, can do no "better than get a gold caterpillar out of a stone and breed it up, "precious things then coming to him spontaneously" [1].

So much for written information about gold caterpillars. It is far from satisfying our curiosity. It will not be superfluous therefore to subjoin some notions prevailing on the subject among the people at the present day, collected especially from the lips of women and matrons in Amoy and the surrounding districts.

A gold caterpillar is a true Jack-of-all-trades. It can spin, weave and sew, plough, sow and reap, in a word, it turns its hand to work of whatever kind with a most wonderful display of dexterity. In the house where it is kept, women merely have to stretch a few warp threads on a loom, to find the whole web finished to perfection before the next morning dawns. If its master is a farmer,

---

失節、不幸今有此事。遂歸家、謂其妻曰、今固事之、不可送之、又不能、惟有死耳、若等好爲後事。乃取其虫、擲於口中而吞之。舉家救之不及。妻子號慟、謂其必死、數日間無所苦。飲啜如故、逾月亦無恙。竟以壽終. *Moh-fu yen hien luh* 幕府燕閒錄, a work from the Sung dynasty, in ten chapters, by Pih Chung-siün 畢仲詢.

[1] 丹陽人採碑於積石之下得自然圓石。試加礱琢、乃重疊相互。至盡如拳破之、有一虫出於中、似蜻蜻狀、蠕蠕能動。人不能熟識因棄之、後有人語之曰、人欲求富貴莫若得石中金蠶畜之、則寶貨自至. *Wu seh sien* 五色線 or "Threads of five Colours", two chapters of jottings and tales from an unknown author who probably lived under the Sung dynasty. T S, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 191.

he has to thrust his spade into the ground only once or twice, to find in less than no time the whole field ploughed, sown and harrowed. Thus the man or woman, who has a caterpillar at command, soon becomes wealthy. But the owner must feed and regale the insect carefully, and constantly pour scoldings and abuse upon it, lest it turn lazy and impudent, and in the end renounce obedience and submission altogether; or, to put it in words of our own, to compel it to an implicit obedience it must be intimidated by means of spells, fascination, and songs of sorcery.

Such assertions are believed generally by men and women of the lower class, to whom nothing wonderful is incredible. Superstition enforces also an implicit belief in the general tale that the insect from time to time demands a human victim to prey on, and is formally allowed by its keeper to attack one. It then slowly devours that victim to the bones and skin, nay, there are rumours abroad of its having left nothing more than the hard skeleton. Women tell how an owner of a gold caterpillar occasionally decoys a victim into his house and into the room where the insect is kept, there to let him be a prey to its murderous attacks, and how many a child or adult thus disappears mysteriously: no very rare occurrence, in fact, in a country where trade in female slaves is in a thriving state.

But, like so many crimes, these murders are often punished by august Heaven, should the soul of the victim denounce the perpetrator before its throne. Breeders of k u and caterpillars may therefore expect never to beget any male descendants, or, if they have any, to see them die. This severest of all celestial punishments may be accelerated by a flash of lightning from a serene, cloudless sky, destroying the sinner, his family and house, together with his caterpillar or vermin-pot.

Public opinion further argues, that fear of such vindicatory intervention on the part of the highest power in the Universe overbalances in the end the sorcerer's passion for wealth, rendering him anxious to rid himself of the caterpillar. We have seen that he can do so by placing it somewhere in the street, hidden under such things of value as may entice another to take it to his home. Many keep a caterpillar in an invisible shape: it is, in fact, possible to lodge its spirit in an incense-burner filled with ashes of incense-sticks which the owner puts in from time to time as a sacrifice to the beast. When a censer is seen abandoned in a street, in some obscure corner, in a field, or between boulders, or in any other

unfrequented spot, people are immediately ready to conclude that it has been put there by some sorcerer or sorceress, anxious to be rid of a caterpillar.

In south-east Fuhkien few spectres are known so well by the people and believed in so generally as the gold caterpillars. In Amoy and its surroundings it is called *kim tsᶜn̂g*, and heard of by old and young, and it is probable that it would be difficult to find a woman there who does not deem the whole male and female world, except herself and a few others, capable of practising witchcraft with it, should it suit their purpose. There is accordingly always some danger in putting up in a little frequented inn. Should circumstances bring any one there, prudence warns him to smear some mud off his feet on the wall, and see whether it disappears, the presence of a gold caterpillar being in this case indubitable; the spectre indeed is bent on cleanliness, and wipes away all coarse dirt it sees, thus readily betraying its presence. In this way it is explained why in so many inns the walls look as muddy as even the floor, but we think that the general uncleanliness of the people may better account for this fact.

The Code of Laws mentions a sentence, passed by the Throne on appeal in 1792 against "a commoner of the Yung-fuh district "(in Kwangsi), named Hü Kien-fang, who, giving ear to the "instigations of one Chᶜen Tᶜing-chang, had lodged a false accusation "against Liao Chung-hang, stating that this man had induced "Loh Fah-tsᶜüen and others to let loose k u upon his mother, "madam Hü, born of the Liu family, which lady had thereupon "hung herself with fatal result" [1]. The Code devotes two special titles to the subject of sorcery, thus proving that the high government of China is to the present hour not less a slave to the belief in its reality and dreadful consequences than the humblest among its subjects. Like the laws of the Han dynasty (see p. 845), it threatens with punishments of great severity those who venture to rear such noxious breed or have it in their houses. "Whoever "(procures or) makes, (hides) or keeps k u poison which may serve "for destruction of human life, as also he who instructs or tells "others to do so, shall be decapitated, (even though he has not yet "actually used it to kill). The property of the maker or breeder

[1] 永福縣民許建芳聽從陳廷璋、誣告廖中項主使駱法全等下蠱致伊母許劉氏自縊身死. Ch. 16, the sixth title.

"shall be forfeited to the magistrates; his wife, children, and all "those living in his house, even though ignorant of the matter, "shall be banished for life to the distance of two thousand miles[1], "to remain there for ever. If the ku poison has poisoned a person "living in the same house, the parents and wife of the victim, his "concubines, sons and grandsons, if ignorant of the preparation of "the ku, are not liable to be sent into exile; (those among them "who knew of it shall be banished, even if they were injured by "the poison).

"And each chief of the ward or village, when privy to the crime "and failing to give information of it to the authorities, shall "receive one hundred blows with the long stick, but he shall not "be punished if he was ignorant thereof. He who informs against "and arrests the culprit shall be rewarded by the authorities with "twenty ounces of silver"[2].

These laws can boast of a respectable age, as we find them in the Code of the Ming dynasty[3] in exactly the same terms, save for the bracketed interpolations. The laws of the Yuen dynasty prescribed the condemnation of ku breeders in these emphatic words: "those who make ku poison and injure men with it shall be put to death"[4]. It is worth notice that the Code of the present dynasty and that of Ming place the quoted articles immediately before that which threatens with decapitation the poisoning of men with vegetable or mineral substances; evidently then legislators ot

1 The reasoning is, of course, that those relations *ought* to have known of the matter and checked it. Thus the Law compels every one to be constantly watchful within his own domestic circle against such abominable practices.

2 凡[置]造[藏]畜蠱毒堪以殺人及教令[人造畜]者、[並造]斬、[不必用以殺人]。造畜者財產入官、妻子及同居家口、雖不知情、並流二千里、安置。若以蠱毒毒同居人、其被毒之人父母妻妾子孫不知造蠱情者不在流遠之限、[若係知情、雖被毒、仍緣坐]。

若里長知而不舉者各杖一百、不知者不坐。告獲者官給賞銀二十兩. Ch. 26, l. 80, the eighth title: 造畜蠱毒殺人, "on homicide by keeping ku and making ku poison".

3 See also in chapter 129 of the *Ta Ming hueui tien*.

4 諸造蠱毒中人者處死. History of the Yuen Dynasty, ch. 104, l 7.

both dynasties considered k u to be the most common and typical mode of poisoning.

Among the notes inserted in that same title of the Code of Laws for instruction of the mandarins when administering justice we find one which sheds a few rays of new light upon our subject. "The writings studied by us mention numerous species of k u "poison, but, generally speaking, compounders of poisonous k u have "k u of snakes, of geese, of babies, of gold caterpillars, and other "matter. When a man is poisoned with k u, he is sure to die "within a fixed time, but his time may also come after some years. "More poisonous than any other is k u of gold caterpillars; it inevit- "ably kills those who are injured by it. It occurs in Fuhkien, "Kwang-tung and Kwangsi, Szĕ-ch'wen and Kweicheu" [1].

Such k u "of babies" may perhaps be the sorcery with which the next chapter will occupy us. About k u "of geese" we know nothing; we have never found any reference to it in a book, nor ever caught a word concerning it from the lips of the people. May we venture to suggest that geese, which greedily devour vipers, worms and grubs, are fed on such reptiles and insects, and their souls then are induced by means of spells or other expedients to poison enemies or otherwise to afflict and kill them?

### Remedies for k u.

The terror, with which k u sorcery has filled the hearts of the Chinese of all ages, has caused them to invent many quack medicines and prophylactics to annul its effects. All the leading therapists declare these effects to be merely infection with "poison" [2], against which antidotes of any kind may be efficacious. The long list of antidotes which the Chinese possess cannot, however, be reviewed here, but only the remedies which are used against k u poison in particular may occupy our attention.

K u or w u k u being very ancient in China, medical authors

---

1 考之記載蠱毒之類甚多、大概以毒蟲合成者有蛇蠱、鵝蠱、小兒蠱、金蠶蠱等名。以蠱毒人刻期必死、有期在數年之後者。惟金蠶蠱最毒、中之必死。閩粵川黔諸處有之. *Loc. cit.*

2 Tuh 毒.

at an early date occupied themselves with the art of curing its effects. In the medical book ascribed to Koh Hung we read these lines:

"A patient hurt by k u gets cutting pains at his heart and belly "as if some living thing is gnawing there; sometimes he has a "discharge of blood through the mouth or the anus. If he is not "forthwith medically treated, it devours his five viscera, which "entails his death. To discover whether it is k u or not, let the "patient spit into water; if the spittle sinks, it is k u; if it floats, "it is not.

"The recipe for discovering the name of the owner of the k u "poison is as follows: take the skin of a drum, burn it, a small "piece at a time, pulverize the ashes, and let the patient drink "them with water; he will then forthwith mention the name; "then bid this owner forthwith to remove the k u, and the patient "will recover immediately. Again place some j a n g-h o leaves secretly "under the mattress of the patient; he will then of his own accord "immediately mention the name of the owner of the k u" [1].

After this introductory wisdom, Koh Hung mentions a series of general antidotes to cure sufferers of k u and other poison, also by making them vomit. His magical method for discovering the evil-doer is recommended also in nearly the same words by Sun Sze-moh. This author moreover says: "There are people who mix the k u "ingredients with snake-saliva, and then put them into the food "or drink of others, thus giving them belly-disease; this is a method "which causes death after several years. Medicines for curing its effects "exist for each special case. That method is practised among the "mountaineers in Kiang-nan; this fact cannot be doubted" [2].

---

1 中蠱令人心腹切痛、如有物嚙、或吐下血。不即療之、食人五臟、則死矣。欲知蠱與非蠱、當令病人唾水中、沉者是、浮者非。

欲知蠱毒主姓名方、取鼓皮、少少燒末飲病人、病人須臾自當呼蠱主姓名、可語便去則便愈。又薤荷葉密著病人臥席下、其病人即自呼蠱主姓名也. *Chau heu pi kih fang*, ch. 7, § 63.

2 又有以蛇涎合作蠱藥、著飲食中、使人得痕病、此一種積年乃死。療之各自有藥。江南山間人有此、不可不信之. *Pi kih ts'ien kin yao fang*, ch. 74, § 4.

Having stated that a man can be poisoned in a thousand different ways, our learned doctor goes on to say: "This is the reason why "he who leaves his house should always carry about him 'male "yellow', musk, and 'animated cinnabar', which are the chief me- "dicines for averting evil; neither the hundreds of kinds of k u, "nor any cat-spectres, nor any fox-devils or spirits of old men and "beasts will then ever presume to touch him. To people who would "nourish their vital spirits it is of great moment to bear these "things in mind" [1].

In a list of recipes following on these pieces of sage advice, there are two ingredients which attract attention, viz. centipedes, and so many m e i [2] or portions of spotted or striped cats [3]. These animals have to the present hour held their place in the Pharmacopoea as destroyers of poison and k u.

The centipede (蜈蚣 ts ih-ts ü, or 蜈蚣 w u-k u n g) simply owes the above attribute to an old belief that it is a destroyer of snakes. There may be truth in this belief, seeing that snakes may be small and Chinese centipedes large, especially in the south, where I have seen specimens almost two feet in length. There are there fabulous centipedes of enormous length. The belief in the snake-destroying virtue of the insect may, however, simply come from a passage in the writings of Liu Ngan, which is to this effect: "The moon "illumines the whole world under heaven, and yet it is eclipsed "by a toad (believed to dwell in it); — a snake ascending to "the sky and coursing through the fogs yet is endangered by a "ts ih-ts ü" [4]. A ts ih-ts ü may have meant some other animal in the time when Liu Ngan wrote, but posterity has simply accepted it as a centipede.

The writings of Koh Hung teach us that in his time the belief that centipedes were snake-killers had given them a position in Chinese life as charms against snakes. "People in the southern "countries always when they enter the hills carry a bamboo tube

---

[1] 所以出門常須帶雄黃麝香神丹諸大辟惡藥、則百蠱貓鬼狐狸老物精魅永不敢著人。養生之家大須慮此. *Op. et loc. cit.*

[2] 枚. [3] 斑貓.

[4] 月照天下、蝕於詹諸、騰蛇游霧而殆於蜈蚣. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. 17.

"with living centipedes, for when these feel themselves in the neigh-
"bourhood of snakes, they forthwith stir in the tube; and if the
"traveller then looks attentively into the shrubs, he is sure to see
"a snake. Even a snake of a chang in length and more than a
"span thick may, if perceived by a centipede and kept in restraint
"by its breath or influence, die immediately. If a snake perceives
"a centipede in a cliff, it will, even if it is the larger, flee to the
"deep bottom of the brook in the ravine, where the centipede will
"keep it in restraint by merely remaining afloat on the surface;
"and if then we see something which is quite blue and as large
"as the flat top of a ceremonial cap dive right out into the water
"towards the snake, this will immediately come to the surface and
"die. Hence it is that the southerners pulverize centipedes and
"treat snake-bites therewith, which then are forthwith cured" [1].

The belief in centipedes as destroyers of snakes may be further illustrated by the following tale from a book of the eleventh century: "My grand-uncle has seen somewhere in the country a centipede "chasing a big snake with great velocity. The snake shot across a "brook, but the centipede followed it, and the snake, knowing "itself inferior in strength and unable to escape, turned round, "and with wide-opened jaws awaited its pursuer. The centipede at "once ran into its mouth, and in a moment the snake was dead; "the centipede then bored its way through the belly, and came "out through the flank. They cut open the snake, and found its "bowels gone" [2].

---

[1] 南人入山皆以竹管盛活蜈蚣、知有蛇之地便動作於管中、如此則詳視草中、必見蛇也。大蛇丈餘、身出一圍者、蜈蚣見之而能以氣禁之、蛇卽死矣。蛇見蜈蚣在涯岸間、大蛇走入川谷深水底逃、其蜈蚣但浮水上禁、人見有物正青、大如綖者、直下入水至蛇處、須臾蛇浮出而死。故南人因此末蜈蚣治蛇瘡、皆登時愈也. *Pao P'oh-tsze*, ch. 4, or sect. 17, 登涉.

[2] 余伯祖管於野外見蜈蚣逐一大蛇甚急。蛇奔過一溪、蜈蚣亦隨之、蛇知力屈不免、乃回身、張口向之。蜈蚣遄入其口、俄頃蛇死、乃穴其腹傍而出。拆蛇視之、已無腸矣. *Mih khoh hwui si* 墨

As a destroyer of k u, we see the centipede appear in writings as early as the fourth or fifth century, at least if the following tale, occurring in the collection of T'ao Ts'ien, is not an interpolation of a later period: "T'an-yiu was a man who walked in the path "of salvation, a Çramana of a pure, ascetic mode of life. There "was in the district of Yeu a family which employed k u, so that "none of those who partook of their food or drink escaped without "vomiting blood and dying. T'an-yiu called on them, and the master "of the house placed food before him; but T'an-yiu had recourse "to his usual spells and vows, and — a pair of centipedes more "than a foot in length jumped out of the dish and ran off. He ate "his fill, and went home, quite comfortable and without any ill "consequences" [1].

As a pharmaceutical ingredient, the centipede mostly occurs in apothecary's shops in a dried state. Its segments are grated to powder and drunk with water, together with other medical matter; sometimes they are roasted before being pulverized. The legs are removed as useless. If the poison produces boils and ulcers, the application of such powder in ointment of hogs' lard is recommended, and so are ablutions with water or oil in which a centipede has been steeped for several days.

Ingredients obtained from other snake-killing or snake-devouring animals are, as we might have anticipated, likewise valued as medicines against k u. So *e. g.* musk, because, as Koh Hung says, "the musk-deer as well as the wild pig devours snakes" [3]. Musk is used internally in a large number of antidotes, and is, moreover, strongly recommended as an ingredient for amulets and medicines for various demoniacal diseases. Cats, too, prey on snakes, toads and frogs; no wonder then that (see p. 863) Sun Szĕ-moh recommended, as a remedy against k u, small pieces of spotted or striped

---

客揮犀, a work in ten chapters by P'eng Shing 彭乘 of the eleventh century. TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 182 and 184.

1 曇遊道人清苦沙門也。剡縣有一家事蠱、人噉其食飲無不吐血死。遊嘗詣之、主人下食、遊依常呪願、一雙蜈蚣長尺餘便於盤中跳走。遊便飽食而歸、安然無他. *Sheu shen heu ki*, ch. 2.

2 麝香.

3 麝及野猪皆啖蛇. *Pao P'oh-tszĕ*, ch. 4, or sect. 17.

cats. Pharmacologists have quite a series of recipes into the composition of which everything that can be got from cats may enter as chief operative ingredient. The *Wei sheng i kien fang* [1], Easy and simplified Recipes for the Protection of Life, says: "As a "preservative against ku poison, flesh of cats must be eaten from "an early age; then ku cannot do any harm" [2]. "Are we", asks Li Shi-chen on mentioning this passage "to think here of ku "mentioned by the Books of the Sui Dynasty as a barbarous cat-"spectre practice?" [3] (see p. 610). This famous medical man evidently suspected here an application of some *similia similibus* method. Further he wrote: "Bone from a cat's head cures demoniacal malady, ku poison, and pains in the heart and belly" [4].

The reptiles and insects used in ku sorcery devour each other; consequently, ku poison too is destroyed by those creatures. Ch'en Tsang-khi wrote: "In general reptiles and insects, which are used "to make ku, are cures for ku; therefore, if we know what ku "is at work, we may remedy its effects. Against ku of snakes "that of centipedes should be used, against ku of centipedes that "of frogs, against ku of frogs that of snakes, and so on. Those "varieties of ku, having the power of subduing each other, may also "have a curative effect" [5]. The reader sees that this theory is simple; but it seems not so simple to discover which or what animal has caused the poisoning. Medical men do not tell us how to do that.

The conviction that Heaven in his righteous wrath sometimes strikes sorcerers and their ku with his thunder, has created the belief that powder of so called "thunderbolt stones" [6] or "thunder-nodules" [7] may remove the effects of ku through the natural pas-

---

1 衛生易簡方. Its author, Hu Yung 胡濙, flourished as an officer in the first half of the fifteenth century. See his biography in the History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 169.

2 凡豫防蠱毒、自少食貓肉、則蠱不能害.

3 此亦隋書所謂貓鬼野道之蠱乎. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 51, I, f. 53.

4 貓頭骨主治鬼疰蠱毒心腹痛 *Ibid.*

5 凡蠱虫療蠱、是知蠱名卽可治之。如蛇蠱用蛺蚾蠱虫、蛺蚾蠱用蝦蟆蠱虫、蝦蟆蠱用蛇蠱虫之類。是相伏者、乃可治之. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 42, I 31.

6 霹靂砆. 7 雷楔.

sages. Those stones were stated by Ch'en Tsang-khi to be obtained from Lei-cheu [1], the "Thunder Department", which is the most southerly projecting peninsula of Kwangtung province, opposite Hainan island, as also from some vallies in Ho-tung [2] or the present province of Shansi, where they lie at a depth of three feet in grounds which lightning has struck. They possess various shapes, but mostly resemble axes and knives, the latter with two holes. Their colour is a veined blue or black. Some opine that they are products of human art. According to some writers, there exist also "thunder-hammers" [3], weighing several pounds, "thunder-awls" and "thunder-axes" [4], supposed to have been used by the God of Thunder to split up things; further there are "thunder-rings" [5], lost by that god, and "thunder-pearls" [6], which dragons have dropped from their mouths, and which may thoroughly illuminate a whole house during the night; etc. [7]. Perhaps those objects may be the relics of an age of stone.

A good medicine for ku poison is leek-juice mixed with spirits, which will make the patient vomit some ophidian creature. The vermin may also be expelled by means of efficacious magic spells, purporting to bully and intimidate it; a great number have been invented to this end, and we have seen that they were already used under the ancient Cheu dynasty (p. 826). A good means to protect one's self against ku, professedly practised by people in Fuhkien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi when putting up in an inn, is to tap the inn-keeper on his back or shoulder, and ask him whether he has ku in his house; this done, the thing will not be set to work, as it is tolerably certain that whoever knows about ku will also know the means to defeat it.

We have already stated (p. 849), that ku poisoning may be discovered by means of the spittle of the patient, and by peas placed in his mouth, or by an egg of a kuh put in his bed. Victims may be recognized by a glare on their heads, which, when touched by another, emit sparks. The diagnosis may also be made by the patient himself by application of roots or leaves of a ginger-like herb, called jang-ho, which if hidden in his bed without his knowing it, will make him mention the name of the sorcerer,

---

1 雷州. 2 河東. 3 雷鎚.
4 雷鑽 and 雷斧. 5 雷環. 6 雷珠.
7 *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 10, l. 44.

who then can be asked or compelled to stop his odious work That plant is generally surmised to be the "efficacious herb" by means of which certain officers of the Cheu dynasty were directed to combat the dangers of k u (cf. p. 847).

Although gold-caterpillar sorcery does not seem to be actually distinguished from k u, some special preventives of its effects are prescribed. One of these is the dried skin of a hedgehog, which, as I have been assured in China, is kept for the purpose in many houses. An author of the twelfth century relates, "that the prefect "of Yüh-lin told him that he had witnessed in the district of "Fuh-ts'ing (in Fuhkien) a process in a case of poisoning with a "gold caterpillar. The sub-prefect of that district had been unable "to find any trace of guilt until some one had advised him to "introduce a pair of hedgehogs into that house, as then the insect "would certainly be caught, because it is afraid of hedgehogs. These "beasts had entered, and the caterpillar did not stir; yet though "it lay concealed in a fissure of the wall under a bed, it was "drawn by the two animals out of its shelter" [1].

Ch'en Shi-toh [2], also named Yuen-kung [3], in the later years of the seventeenth century compiled a work in six chapters on the healing art, in which he laid down much wisdom professedly borrowed from the most ancient medical sages, and wrote therein: "Take a weight of three ts'i e n of thunder-pills, powder them, and "mix the powder with a little quantity of white alum; then, when "a gold caterpillar appears, drop a little of the powder upon it, "and it will change forthwith into a red, bloody fluid. When the "S h e n t a o (the Tao or Universal Order represented by the s h e n) "flies into a passion and is going to cause misfortune, then, "when it is heard in the sky, forthwith drop some of that powder "while looking up towards the place whence the noise is heard; "the S h e n t a o will undoubtedly give vent to a great curse, but

---

[1] 鬱林守爲吾言嘗見福清縣有訟遭金蠶毒者。縣官求治不得蹤、或獻謀取兩刺蝟入捕必獲矣、盡金蠶畏蝟。蝟入其家、金蠶則不敢動、雖匿榻下牆罅、果爲兩蝟擒出之. Ch. 6 of the *T'ieh-wei shan ts'ung tan* 鐵圍山叢談, a work in six chapters treating of matters between the years 963 and 1130, in which period the author, Ts'ai T'ao 蔡絛, lived.

[2] 陳士鐸. [3] 遠公.

"will calmly pass away, and never return. When any one obtains "the insect, he is sure to amass riches; it comes from the air and "he feels exhilarated, sacrifices to it in a cupboard or a drawer, "worships it, and prays to it the whole day; but in the long run "his face assumes the same gold colour which the caterpillar has; "he takes medicines, but in vain; later on his belly swells up, as "if he were attacked by dropsy. Such practices flourish especially "in Shuh (Szĕ-ch'wen). He who gets a caterpillar does not as a "rule live for five years, and even after his death the caterpillar "does not go away, but passes over to his sons and grandsons, "sometimes causing the destruction of his family" [1].

Protection against k u is also given by domestic fowls, because they betray its presence. It is, indeed, averred that those birds show a remarkable tendency to fly away wherever k u is kept. This peculiarity was known as early as the ninth century to Twan Ch'ing-shih, who wrote: "If fowls fly away without evident reason, there is "k u in the house, and when they do not come down from the "trees in the daytime, the wife or the concubines have incestuous "schemes" [2]. The cock, as we shall see in Chapter V of Part IV, is feared by spectres; therefore protection against k u is afforded by its head, affixed over the house-door. This conception may, however, also be due to the circumstance that fowls prey on grubs, insects, and small reptiles.

---

[1] 用雷凡三錢爲末、同白礬少許調勻、倘見金蠶出見之時輒以末少許滲在虫身之上、立時化爲紅水如血。神道必然震怒作祟、倘空中有聲、卽將此藥末、聽其聲音響處望空灑去、則神道必大罵負心而去、永不再至矣。其初起得物之時必然驟富、物從空中來、其人喜極、將金蠶供之廚櫃間、晨夕拜禱、久之其人面如金色、與金蠶相同、服藥無效、又久之腹大如鼓脹矣。當時蜀中盛多此風。得金蠶者大約不能出五年必死、而金蠶不去也、又傳於子孫、往往至滅門之禍. *Shih shih mih luh* 石室祕錄, *ap.* TS, sect. 藝術, ch. 347.

[2] 雞無故自飛去、家有蠱、雞日中不下樹、妻妾姦謀. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 16.

## CHAPTER III.

### INFLICTION OF EVIL BY MEANS OF HUMAN SOULS.

It is not only by means of their own souls and the souls of animals that sorcerers practice their cruel art; they can further do so by means of the souls of other men. We have already seen the Code of Laws refer to 小兒蠱 or "ku of babies" (see p. 861), coincidently with ku by means of snakes and gold caterpillars, and may infer herefrom that the former is a practice of the same nature, that is to say, it consists in letting loose human souls or human soul-substance upon victims.

The Code having thus directed our attention to this form of sorcery, we are naturally drawn to further search in its pages, to obtain yet more information on the subject. In fact we find in it, immediately before the title on ku, another, bearing on "plucking out vitality, and chopping or cutting men" [1], which, according to an explanatory note, "means to steal the ears, eyes, "viscera, internal organs, etc. from a living person, and chop or "cut off his limbs and other parts. These crimes are of the same "nature as simple dismemberment, but the perpetrator of dis- "memberment has no ulterior object beyond murder, and the other "crime is murder followed by sorcery for the purpose of decoying "others, so that it is considered to be peculiarly serious" [2].

Another official comment says:

"Those who occupy themselves with sorcery either steal away "men's ears or eyes, or chop off their hands or feet; they then "take a human image made of wood or modelled in clay, and

[1] 採生折割人. The seventh title of chapter 26.

[2] 謂取生人耳目臟腑之類而折割其肢體也。此與支解事同、但支解者止欲殺其人而已、此則殺人而爲妖術以惑人、故又特重之.

"after laying all these things on the ground, perform over them "such sorcerous magic as will cause them to perform functions. "Others obtain the year, month and hour of the nativity of a "living man, and (with the aid thereof) decoy him into a mountain-"forest, there to rob him of his vital breath and catch his two "souls (his hwun and his p'oh), in order to make these their "spectral servant. In times gone by such practices prevailed in "Yunnan, Kweichen, Kwangtung and Kwangsi. And still more "frequently it occurs that a man's viscera or chief internal organs "are cut out, or a pregnant woman's fruit, or the virginal red "matter of some unmarried maid, or some other thing of the "kind, in order to have ingredients for sorcery. All such things "fall under 'plucking out vitality and chopping or cutting'" [1].

In these lines we have practically all that is required for the comprehension of this form of sorcery. The instrument of the sorcerer is a human soul, or some portion of it, obtained by appropriating certain parts of the body of a living person, but especially such organs as are deemed to be more especially impregnated with his mental or vital power. An image is then provided for his soul to settle in, and the latter totally subdued by the sorcerer to his will by charms and spells, formulae of enchantment, and actual ill-treatment of the image, in consequence of which it is obliged obediently to do all the mischief he ordains. Female sexual organs or secretions are selected for such sorcery since they are connected with procreation, and consequently with life and vitality assimilated with the soul.

Another part of the running commentary of the Code reads as follows:

"To pluck out life or chop and cut a man means to cause death "to a living person and take away the openings of his senses, in "order to perform black magic therewith. It happens that by means "of magic and black art the hour, year and month of a man's

---

[1] 有爲妖術者或取人耳目、或斷人手足、用木刻泥塑爲人形、將各項安土、乃行邪法使之工作。又有採取生人年月生辰、將人迷在山林之中取其生氣、攝其魂魄、爲鬼役使。往時滇黔兩粵中有之。更有剜人臟腑及孕婦胞胎、室女元紅之類、以供邪術之用。皆是採生折割.

"birth are obtained, in order to decoy him by means thereof unto "some unfrequented spot deep in the mountains, there to murder "him and cut off pieces from his body, or to cut out his five "internal organs and his vitality, or to draw the souls (the h w u n "and the p'o h) out of him, in order to turn them into a spectral "servant. The 'spectre-vines', for sale nowadays in Kwangtung "and Kwangsi, Honan, Fuhkien and other regions, consist of "such things" [1].

As all such crimes constitute homicide followed by sorcery, they are punished by the Law more severely than simple murder. "Whosoever plucks the life out of a man, or mutilates and cuts "him, (whether the victim be killed thereby or merely wounded), "shall (if he is the principal culprit) be slowly carved to death "with knives. His possessions shall be allotted judicially to the "family of the murdered person, and his wife, children, and the "inmates of his house, even though they knew nothing of the "matter, shall be banished for life to a country two thousand miles "off, without permission to return when an amnesty is proclaimed. "His accomplices (having contributed to the perpetration of the crime) "shall be beheaded, (but if they did not actually do so, they shall "be sentenced according to the law with regard to conspiracy to "murder, remission of punishment being allowed).

"Should the culprits have begun to carry the crime into effect, "but not yet have inflicted any wounds, the (principal) offender "shall be beheaded, and his wife and children banished for life to "the distance of two thousand miles, while the accomplices (who "have actually co-operated) shall receive a hundred blows with the "long stick, and be sent into perpetual exile to the distance of three "thousand miles.

"And if the chiefs of the ward or village have known about the "crime and have not revealed it, they shall be beaten with one "hundred blows with the long stick; but if they have been ignorant "of it, they shall not be liable to any punishment. And those who

[1] 採生折割人者謂將活人致死取其官竅以行妖術。或使術法邪道採取生時年月、將人迷入深山僻處、殺死、割取形骸、剜其五臟生氣、攝取魂魄爲鬼役使。今兩廣豫閩等處所市鬼蕊卽是。

"have given information of the matter, or laid hands on the perpe-
"trators, shall be rewarded by the authorities with twenty ounces
"of silver" [1].

A by-law runs: "If any person who committed the crime of
"plucking out life and chopping or cutting, has cognates or agnates
"who confessed or denounced the crime, or placed the perpetrator
"under arrest and delivered him to the magistrates, then, if the
"crime was begun and the chief perpetrator is not acquitted, his
"wife, children and inmates who would have to be punished
"together with him, shall be exempted from punishment according
"to the Law if they took a part in the denunciation" [2].

The presence of such laws in the Code clearly attests the general prevalence in China of this cruelest of all forms of sorcery during the reign of the two dynasties under which this Code was in force. The Mongol house of Yuen, which preceded them, also had a law providing against it: "Whosoever plucks life out of a man or
"dismembers him, with intent to procure a spectre to sacrifice to,
"shall be slowly carved to death with knives; his family possessions
"shall be forfeited, and all the inmates of his house, although
"ignorant of the crime, shall be banished to distant regions. If the
"crime was begun, however, without murder of the victim, the
"case shall be treated as one of robbery with violence; and should
"no wounds have been inflicted, and nothing of value appropriated,
"the punishment shall amount to 107 blows with a long stick
"and banishment for three years. And if the crime was merely

---

[1] 凡採生折割人者 [兼已殺及已傷言、首] 凌遲處死。財產斷付死者之家、妻子及同居家口、雖不知情、並流二千里安置。爲從 [加功] 者斬、[不加功者依謀殺人律減等]。

若已行而未曾傷人者、[首] 亦斬、妻子流二千里、爲從 [加工] 者杖一百、流三千里。

里長知而不舉者杖一百、不知者不坐。告獲者官給賞銀二十兩. See the same article, save the parts within brackets, in the Code of the Ming dynasty; cf. *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch 129.

[2] 凡採生折割等人如有親屬首告、或捕送到官、已行者正犯不免、其緣坐之妻子及同居家口得同自首、律免罪.

"plotted and not yet begun, the number of blows shall be 97, "and the banishment be for a term of two years and a half. The "man who was to be assassinated, and accomplices who denounced "the crime or arrested the culprits, shall receive the family posses- "sions of the culprits; and if the arrest has been made by one to "whose duty it belonged, he shall receive one half thereof" [1].

In order to convey to the reader some more knowledge about this branch of sorcery, we think we can not do better than bring to his notice the following long story:

"Wang Pih, also named Liang-fu, a man of Ts'in-cheu, had "been appointed Governor of Lung-sha, after having travelled for "the purpose of study through north Yen-ngan. Having resigned his "office, he retired into private life and practised medicine.

"In the second year of the Chi ching period (A.D. 1342), a "crafty wu, named Wang Wan-li, practised divination and sooth- "saying with his brother's son Shang-hien in the bazaar of Lung-sha. "In the winter of that year, in the eleventh month, Wang Pih "visited him, and, discontented with the verdict of the oracle given "by that man, made the mistake of reprimanding and insulting "him severely. This greatly roused Wan-li's anger, and he incited "on a spectre against Pih to disquiet him.

"That night Pih was sitting down studying the chapter on the "Metal-bound Coffer (of the *Shu king*), when suddenly he heard "outside the window a dreary whistling voice. He opened the door "to see who was there, but though the moon shone brightly in the "empty courtyard, he perceived nobody. The next day in broad "daylight a wailing voice sounded at the gate, accompanied by "complaints of having suffered wrong. Pih called a spectre-seer to "lay the ghost, but this man could not master it.

"Pih now spoke: 'How can it possibly be that my medicines "have killed you! therefore it is not I who have to redress the "wrong under which you suffer'. Upon which the spectre said:

---

[1] 諸採生人支解以祭鬼者凌遲處死、仍沒其家產、其同居家口、雖不知情、並徙遠方。已行而不曾殺人者、比強盜、不曾傷人、不得財、杖一百七、徒三年。謀而未行者、九十七、徒二年半。其應死之人能自首或捕獲同罪者給犯人家產、應捕者減半. Sect. 大惡. See also the History of the Yuen Dynasty, ch. 104, l. 7.

"'I have convinced myself that of the many men there are, only "you, sir, can be relied on; should you be really willing to redress "the wrongs under which I suffer, you must call together some "ten elders to attend as witnesses'. Pih promised to do so, and "when they had assembled, the spectre told its story in the fol-"lowing terms: —

"'I am a girl of the Cheu family in Blackbrook, in the Fung-chen "department. My father's name is Hwo-khing, and the surname "of my mother is Chang. At my birth the moon stood W. S W. "by W., for which reason my name is Moon-in-the west. When I "had reached my sixteenth year, my mother fell sick; my father "called in Wang Wan-li to divine her condition, and thus I became "acquainted with that man. One hundred and five days after my "mother's death, on the day ping-ch'en of the ninth month of "the third year of the Chi yuen period (1337), when my father, "being drunk, was lying down to sleep and my brother was out "collecting firewood, that man, while I was walking up and down "in the shade of the wall, wrought upon the hour and day of my "birth with bewitching spells in such wise that I became totally "absent-minded and stood with staring eyes, unable to utter a "word. In this condition Wan-li took me upon his back to a "willow-grove, and tied me with my back against a tree; he un-"fastened his hair, wound a coloured cord around it, and made a "hole in my breast in order to cut my heart out, which in a few "hours he pulverized, together with my eyes, my tongue, my ears, "nose, nails, and fingers, and having kneaded the mass into balls,

---

[1] 王弼、字貞輔、秦州人、游學延安北、遂爲龍沙宣慰司。去官、隱於醫。

至正二年黠巫王萬里與從子尚賢賣卜龍沙市。冬十一月弼往謁焉、忿其語、侵坐折辱之。萬里恚甚、驅鬼物懼弼。

弼夜坐讀金縢篇、忽聞窗外悲嘯聲。啟戶視之、空庭月明無有也。翼日晝哭於門、且稱冤。弼召視鬼者厭之、弗能勝。

弼乃祝曰、豈予藥殺爾邪、苟非予當白爾冤。鬼曰、兒閱人多惟翁可托、翁若果白兒冤、宜集壽俊十人爲之徵。弼曰可、人既集、鬼曰、

"he put these into a gourd. Subsequently he made a human image "of paper, and violently compelled me by means of spells to become "his slave. Whenever I was a little lazy, he pricked the image "with a needle; my eyebrows then contracted with pain, and my "mouth uttered long cries of woe. Yesterday, sir, he was insulted "by you, and sent me to you to avenge him, but I cannot find "it in my heart to do so. Sir, please pity me; let me no longer "endure that wrong in this nether world; I swear to you I will bind "myself to you as a child to its father. But the elders here seated "must not speak of it, lest misfortune befall them'.

"And on these words the spectre wailed still more piteously. "Pih, too, shed tears, and so did the ten gentlemen. They put "down the depositions of Moon-in-the-west in black and white, "subscribed their names, and secretly informed the prefect of the "district. This officer surprised Wan-li and his nephew, and sharply "questioned them. At first they repelled the accusation, but Moon-in-"the-west being confronted with them, refuted and contradicted "all their depositions very bitterly, and demanded that the contents "of his travelling-bag should be inventoried. Various things were "produced from it, such as written charms and formulae, seal-"impresses, needles long and short; so Wan-li fell flat on the "ground, and made a clean breast in the following terms:

"He was a man from Lü-ling. While busy collecting a store of "magical arts, he came to Hing-yuen, where he met with one Liu, "an alchemist, who instructed him in the art of plucking life, "answering in the main to what Moon-in-the-west had told. But "he did not believe in the reality of it; therefore Liu took out of "his bag a five-coloured cloth in which he had hairs in pellets, "and pointing his finger at them, said: 'This is Li Yen-nü "of Hien-ning, obtained by me in the second month of the spring "of the second year of the T'ien lih period; for seventy-five strings "of coins I will order him to bind himself to you as a follower "and attendant'. On the other assenting to this bargain with "delight, Liu made the Yü paces [1], and burned charms to conjure "Yen-nü, whose voice was thereupon heard in the air, saying: "'Master, whither do you want me to go?' 'Follow Mr. Wang on "his peregrinations; he is a good man with whom you will not "at all fare ill'. Wan-li paid the money, thus entering into

1 Paces in certain fixed forms, or slow dances, are often made in China to bring down spirits and gods, and to perform magic.

"the full possession of that magic. After this, on passing through "Fang-cheu, he fell in with a master Kwang, from whom, after "some agreeable conversation, he obtained one Keng Wan-t'ung "from Fung-yuen, whom likewise he made his slave for the same "sum he had paid to Liu, so that, including Moon-in-the-west, he "possessed three. Liu had advised him to abstain from beef for his "whole life, but lately he had forgotten this hint and consumed "some roasted cow's heart, whereupon things had gone amiss. "Therefore he had nothing more to say [1].

[1] 兒周氏女也、居豐州之黑河。父和卿、母張氏。生時月在庚、故小字爲月西。年十六母疾、父召王萬里占之、因識其人。母死百有五日、當至元三年秋九月丙辰父醉臥、兄樵未還、兒偶步牆陰、萬里以兒所生時日禁咒之、兒昏迷瞪視不能語。萬里負至柳林、反接於樹。先髡其髮、纏以綵線、次穴胸割心、少時暨眼舌耳鼻爪指之屬粉而爲丸、納諸匏中。復束紙作人形、以咒劾制使爲奴。稍怠舉針刺之、蹙頞而長號。昨以翁見辱乃遣報翁、兒心弗忍也。翁尚憐之、勿使銜寃九泉、兒誓與翁結爲父子。在坐諸父慎毋洩、洩則禍相及。

言訖哭愈悲。弼與十人者皆灑涕。備書西辭、聯署其名、潛白之縣。縣急逮萬里叔姪鞫之。始猶撐拒、月西與之相反覆甚苦、且請錄其行橐。遂獲符章印書長針短針諸物、萬里乃仆伏云、

萬里廬陵人。集術至興元、逢劉鍊師、授以採生法、大槩如月西言。萬里弗之信、劉子囊間解五色帛、中貯髮如彈丸、指曰、此咸寧李延奴天曆二年春二月爲吾所錄、爾能歸錢七十五緡當令結侍左右。萬里欣然諾之、劉禹步焚符祝之、延奴空中言曰、師命我何之。劉曰、爾當從王先生游、先生仁人也、殊無苦。萬里如約酬錢、并盡受其術。復經房州、遇鄘生者、與語意合、又獲奉元耿頑童奴之、其歸錢數如劉、今與月

"The prefect wrote to his colleague in Fung-cheu to trace Hwo-
"khing and obtain from him some evidence in corroboration. This
"man's suspicions were aroused; but when he was placed amidst a
"great number of people, and Pih asked: 'who is your father?'
"and Moon-in-the-west answered through a crack in the wall:
"'the man with the black dress and the rush hat', he was deeply
"agitated, and his daughter not less than he. When their emotion
"had subsided, she asked him about their family, soothing him as
"she was wont to do during her life. The prefect considered the
"examination satisfactory and placed the case in the hands of his
"superior, the prefect of the department. Wan-li fell ill in the gaol
"and died, and Shang-hien was set free in the end for a ransom"[1].

This story, which we seem tolerably justified in regarding as an embellished account of a real proceding by superstitious mandarins against some hapless victim of a crafty ventriloquist, is of some use in contributing to our knowledge of the principles and details ot this gruesome "life-plucking". This crime is, in fact, a double crime, being committed just as much against the person whose soul is wanted as an instrument of sorcery, as against the individual on whom this soul is to operate. But we may also learn from Wan-li's confessions that there exist less bloody forms of this doubly black art, since he obtained a soul by merely becoming possessor of human hair. No doubt sorcerers treat such hair in much the same way as they treat the parts and organs obtained with destruction of life. The story teaches us furthermore that sorcerers do not always give their orders to their spectral servants verbally, but also in written forms, by burning paper charms. In fact the sending of written orders and prayers, as well as paper valuables, into the spirit-world through fire and smoke is such an everyday practice among the Chinese that we need not feel any surprise at finding

---

西爲三人矣。劉戒萬里終身勿近牛肉、近忘之因啖牛心炙、事遂敗。尙復何言。

[1] 縣移文豐州、追和卿爲左驗。和卿頗疑之、雜處稠人內、弼問誰爲爾父、月西從壁隙呼曰、黑衣而蒲冠者是也、和卿慟、月西亦慟。慟已歷叩家事、慰勞如平生。縣爲成案、上太府。萬里疾死於獄、尙賢竟以賂免. TS, sect. 藝術, ch. 810.

that sorcerers too resort to it. Such charms may express or mention whatever the writer desires to be done to his victim.

Efficacious instruments of sorcery are unborn children torn out of the womb. A fetus contains a double soul: its own, and its mother's. "Mr. Hü in King-shan (pr. of Hupeh), whose family had "lived for many generations in Sang-hu-pan, married a wife. This "woman's toilet-boxes looked so well furnished that they aroused "the covetousness of Yang Shan, a thief. After a year, when this "man knew that her husband was taking his son to the Metropolis, "and that the wife in the family way had not more than two "female slaves for company, he sneaked into the house at night, and "concealed himself in a dark spot to watch for his opportunity.

"After the third watch-drum he saw by the light of the lamp "a man with sunken eyes and a curly beard climb through the "window, with a yellow linen bag on his back. 'I never came "across that fellow before', said Yang to himself, and he held his "breath, carefully watching his doings. Drawing an incense-stick "out of his sleeve, the man lighted it at the lamp, and placed it "near the slaves; then he turned to the bed of the wife and mut- "tered a spell, on which she suddenly jumped up and, turning "towards him, threw herself on her knees before him, quite naked. "He opened his bag, took a knife out of it, and ripped up her "belly; then he tore the fetus out, and putting it into an urn "of porcelain, slung this over his back and left the house, leaving "the corpse of the woman on the floor before the bed [1].

"Yang, terror-stricken, also left the house and followed that man. "At an inn by the village-gate he flung his arms around him,

---

[1] 京山富人許翁世居桑湖畔、娶新婦某。粧奩顏厚、有偷兒楊三者羨之。年餘聞翁送其子入京、新婦有孕、相伴惟二婢、乃夜入其室、伏暗處伺之。

至三更後燈光下見有一人、深目虬鬚、負黃布囊、爬窗而入。楊念吾道中無此人、屏息窺之。其人袖出香一枝、燒之于燈、置二婢所、隨向婦寢處喃喃誦咒、婦忽躍起、向其人赤身長跪。其人開囊、出一小刀、剖腹取胎、放小磁罐中、背負而出、婦尸仆于牀下。

"crying: 'Innkeeper, quick, come here, I have caught a sorcerer!' "The neighbours all ran to the spot, and finding the fetus in his "bag, dripping with blood, flew into a rage and belaboured him "with their shovels and hoes; but he burst into loud laughter, "and did not incur the slightest wound. And not until they had "cast dung over him did he lose his power to move. Next morning "they delivered him to the magistrate, who questioned him under "torture, thus extorting the confession that he was a member of "the White Lotus society, and had very many comrades. It was "thus discovered that a pregnant woman, whose corpse had been "found in Han-siang, also was a victim of the same practice. After "his trial the malefactor was slowly carved to death, and the thief "was rewarded with fifty ounces of silver" [1].

To prove the conviction of the Chinese in the reality of such murderous sorcery, we may also refer to modern imperial edicts which make it clear that we must not regard the laws, which we have quoted, as dead letters. We have already read on page 488 in a decree, that in 1821 a Censor made a report to the Throne about miscreants in Shantung "who cut out the organs from boys and girls" [2]. But the following edict, issued twenty-five years later, speaks volumes:

"On the day ki-szĕ of the sixth month of the twenty-sixth "year of the Tao kwang period (6 Aug. 1846) the emperor "issued the following decree to the Council of State, to be for- "warded to Ki Ying, Governor-General of the two Kwang, to "Na'rh-king-ko, Governor-General of Chihli, to Pih Ch'ang, Governor- "General of the two Kiang, to Yü T'ai, Governor-General of Hu- "kwang, to Liu Yun-kho, Governor-General of Fuhkien and Cheh- "kiang, to Ch'ung Ngen, Governor of Shantung, and to Wu Wen- "yung, Governor of Kiangsi, relating to a report of the Censor

---

[1] 楊大驚出戶尾之。至村口一旅店抱持之、大呼曰、主人速來、吾捉得一妖賊。衆隣齊至、視其布囊小兒胎血猶涔涔也、衆大怒、持鍬鋤擊之、其人大笑了、無所傷。乃沃以糞始不能動。及旦送官、刑訊曰、我白蓮教也、伙伴甚多。方知漢湘一帶胎婦身死者皆受此害。獄成凌遲其人、賞倫兒銀五十兩. *Tsze pih yü*, ch. 15.

[2] 採割幼童幼女.

"Su Hioh-kien, to whose knowledge it had come that lawless vil-
"lains were decoying young boys by means of magic, and that
"this practice was assuming serious proportions. According to his
"report, those villains everywhere from Chehkiang to Kiangsu place
"eatables along the roads or sell them in fruit-stalls and con-
"fectioners' shops, renewing them under cover of night; children
"who eat of them die immediately, and are then robbed of their
"brains, kidneys, hearts, and livers. Some have been caught
"and arrested, delivered to the magistrates, sharply examined, and
"punished, but this has not frightened them at all; and as
"not the slightest clue has as yet been discovered, the evil is
"spreading in all directions and gradually assuming serious pro-
"portions.....

"If the state of things really is as the aforesaid Censor represents,
"the evil which those villains inflict on the country is of no
"small consequence; hence Ki Ying and the other grandees men-
"tioned above must each, with respect to the matter to which
"attention is directed by that (censorial) report, cause strict and
"secret investigations to be made by commissioners appointed by them,
"in order that culprits be positively arrested, and reliable information
"be obtained from them as to the men from whom that magic has
"issued and their motives; they must then punish them according
"to the laws, in order that their evil practices may be swept away,
"and the lives of the people saved. This is an order of the greatest
"importance" [1].

---

[1] 道光二十六年六月己巳上諭軍機大臣等寄諭兩廣總督耆英、直隸總督訥爾經額、兩江總督壁昌、湖廣總督裕泰、閩浙總督劉韻珂、山東巡撫崇恩、江西巡撫吳文鎔、御史蘇學健奏訪聞不法匪徒術誑幼孩傳布寖廣一摺。據稱此等匪徒起于浙江沿及江蘇等處於路上拋置食物、並於果餅鋪內售賣食物、時暗中更換、小兒食之即斃、斃後潛取腦腎心肝。有經拏送及訪獲到官者熬審受刑、並無畏懼、總未審有端倪、以致流傳漸廣、等語。

果如該御史所奏、邪匪爲害地方關繫匪淺、著耆英等各按摺內所指情形選派員弁嚴密訪

In the great collection of edicts from which we have drawn this one, another, issued twenty-four days later, follows, in which the emperor, referring to the arrest of suspected individuals in Peking, specially insists upon great severity to be used by the Board of Punishments in examining and trying them. Another edict of the same seventh month tells us of another complaint lodged by a Censor about the same work of poisoning prevalent also in the district of Siao-shan[1] in Chehkiang, which had entailed the arrest of several Buddhist priests who had with them medicine-cakes, which, however, proved to be harmless; this case likewise occasioned the emperor to insist upon thorough measures being taken by his mandarins. Finally a fourth resolution, passed in the eighth month on account of reports, received from the provinces, that arrests of suspected criminals had not led to the discovery of the evil, exhorts the high authorities to observe prudence, care, and secrecy in their work of investigation.

It is now possible for us to realize the capital dangers to which medical missionaries expose themselves by performing operations or amputations. Accusations of robbery of eyes and other organs, even of kidnapping children for sorcerous purposes, have, as is well known, been frequently raised against them, and have even become sources of troubles, nay of murderous attacks.

Sorcery by means of human souls may be a complicated application of various animistic notions. To give an example. We know that a grave, if placed under good fung-shui or natural influences, ensures happiness to the soul of the dead who rests in it, and, as a consequence, to his relations too, since that soul, being contented and pleased, protects them well and blesses them. This dogma engenders the belief, that any envious person may put a stop to such a happy state of things, and appropriate all the blessings for himself by burying a part of the body of a member of his own family, and therewith his soul, in that grave. But after all we have learned about the complications of the Chinese science of grave-making and sepulture, it is clear that only experts in geomancy can successfully apply this trick; so that it is quite natural that such professors should generally be living under suspicion of sorcery.

---

查、務期有犯必獲、並訊明此術起自何人意欲何爲、按律懲辦、以除邪慝而衛民生。是爲至要.

*Shing hiun*, edicts of Suen Tsung, ch. 87.

[1] 蕭山.

It is Sui Yuen's useful book of tales that acquaints us with this curious grave-sorcery: —

"The grave of the gentleman of Ngan-khi lies on a mountain in "Fuhkien. A Taoist doctor of the tribe Ki, wishing to draw profits "from the fung-shui of it, said to his daughter, who was very "ill and in danger of death: 'You are born for my use, and it "is not likely that you will be cured; I shall take a portion of "your body and enrich us by means of it. For some time I have desired "to appropriate that fung-shui of the Li family, but it cannot "yield any benefits to us unless a bone of my own daughter "is buried in it; your death is imminent; those who survive "you may now derive advantage from it'. And ere she could give "an answer, he cut off her finger with a knife, put it into the "horn of a ram, and secretly buried it somewhere by the grave "of the Li people. From that time, whenever there died a graduate "among that family, a member of the clan of the Taoist succeeded "in taking his degree, and whenever in the fields of the Li the harvest "decreased by ten bushels, those of the Taoist yielded ten bushels "more: the matter raised suspicion, but remained a mystery[1].

"Once in the Ts'ing ming period, the villagers carried the "image of the Great Emperor Chang to a meeting for presenta- "tion of thank-offerings to the gods. Their beautiful procession "with its ornamental flags in the van and in the rear came to the "grave of Li, when the image suddenly stopped, and though several "dozens of men carried it, it could not possibly be moved. One "among them, a lad[2], suddenly exclaimed: 'Quick, back to the "temple!' — the bearers followed him to that building, where the lad

---

1 安溪相公墳在閩之某山。有道士季姓者、利其風水、其女病瘵將危、道士謂曰、汝爲我所生、而病已無全理、今將取汝身一物以利吾門、我欲占李氏風水久矣、必得親生兒女之骨埋之方能有應、惟汝將死、未死之人纔有用耳。女未及答道士卽以刀劃取其指骨、置羊角中、私埋李氏墳旁。自後李氏門中死一科甲、則道士族中增一科甲、李氏田中減收十斛、則道士田中增收十斛、人疑之亦不解其故。

2 In whose body the god had settled.

"placed himself on the throne of the god. 'I am the Great Em-
"peror', he said, 'there is sorcery in the grave of Li; go and catch
"the culprit, and punish him'. And he told this one of the crowd
"to fetch a shovel, and that one to take a hoe, and A.B. to fetch
"ropes; and when a gang of men had thus been procured, he
"exclaimed: 'go on now, quick, to the grave of Li!' the crowd
"obeyed, and the image was moved forth as quick as the wind. Those
"with the shovels and the hoes at his command searched by the grave
"for a while, and found a gilded ram's horn with a red viper in it,
"wriggling with quick movements, and on one side of the horn the
"names of all the members of the clan of the aforesaid Taoist were
"written. Now the lad ordered the men with the ropes to go to the
"Taoist and bind him; then he cried that they should go to the
"mandarin; and the mandarin examined that man (under torture),
"convicted him, and punished him according to the law. From that
"moment the Li people prospered again, and worshipped the Great
"Emperor with peculiar devotion" [1].

Since sorcerers, like all the Chinese people, are convinced that bones of the dead are imbued with soul-substance, we need not be surprised to see them sometimes using skulls, the head in particular being deemed to contain a great quantity of vigorous soul-substance (page 77). "In Hang-cheu there lived one Ch'en I-khwei,
"versed in the 'transportation-methods of the five spectres'. A friend
"of his, belonging to the Sun clan, once lodged in his house, and
"saw at midnight a hoary old man jump out from under his

---

[1] 值清明節村人迎張大帝像爲賽神會。綵旗導從甚成、行至李家塚、神像忽止、數十人舁之不可動。中一男子大叫曰、速歸廟、速歸廟、衆從之舁至廟中、男子上坐。曰、我大帝神也、李家墳有妖、須往擒治之。命其徒某執鍬、某執鋤、某執繩索、部置定又大叫曰、速至李家墳、速至李家墳、衆如其言、神像疾趨如風。至墳所命執鍬鋤者搜墳旁良久、得一羊角、金色、中有小赤蛇蜿蜒奮動、其角旁有字、皆道人合族姓名也。乃命持繩索者往縛道士、鳴之官、訊得其情、置之法。李氏自此大盛、而奉張大帝甚虔. *Tsze puh yu*, ch. 10.

"bed. This man kneeled down before him, saying: 'I pray you "to prevail upon Ch'en to give me back my skull, so that my corpse "may become complete again'. Sun started, and rose immediately; "and looking by the light of his lamp under the bed, saw there "a dead man's head. He inferred from this, that Ch'en, who occu- "pied himself with the expulsion and employment of spectres, "whenever he did so took heaven-bestowed souls out of decayed "coffins; they came to him because he applied charms and used "spells. The first thing now for Sun to do was to reprimand his "friend; Ch'en, however, denied the matter, but the other reduced "him to silence by taking the skull from under the bed and showing "it him. They then brought it back to the place whence it was "taken; yet Ch'en was erelong assailed by a troop of spectres; his "body was studded all over with violet boils, and he expired" [1].

Bones of the dead may be used for such evil work with great refinement. Archdeacon Gray relates, that in the district of Sun-teh, and at Si-chu-shan, a portion of the district of Nan-hai, in Kwang-tung, there are women called mi-fu-kow [2], who profess by incantations and other mysterious means to be able to effect the death of their fellow-creatures. They are consulted by married women who, owing to ill-treatment or for other reasons, are anxious secretly to kill their husbands. The witches gather the bones of infants from the public cemeteries, and invoke the soul of the infants to accompany them to their dwelling-houses. The bones are reduced to a fine powder, and sold in this form. Mixed in tea, wine, or any other beverage, the powder is daily given to her husband by the murderous wife. At the same time the witch daily calls upon the spirit of the infant, whose bones have been used, to effect the death of the object of the woman's hate. Sometimes, in addition

---

1 杭州陳以蘡善五鬼搬運法。其友孫姓者宿其家、夜半床下走出一白髮翁。跪而言曰、乞致意陳先生還我髑髏、使我全屍。孫大駭、急起、以燈照床下、則髑髏一具存焉。方知陳驅役鬼物皆向敗棺中取其天靈、蓋來施符用咒故也。孫初勸之、陳猶隱諱、取床下骨示之、陳乃無言。卽送還原處、未幾陳爲群鬼所擊、遍身青腫死. *Tsz̆ puh yü*, ch. 18.

2 祕符姑? women who use mýstic charms.

to his horrible daily draught, a portion of the bone of an infant is carefully secreted under his bed. Attempts have been made, I believe, not without success, to destroy these witches. In the public hall at Kang-hi, near to Si-chu-shan, some of these women were summoned into the presence of the gentry, and made to answer certain grave charges of this nature, which had been preferred against them by their neighbours. Upon being convicted, they were put to death by poison. As lately as the year 1865, several women of this class were put to death in this manner[1].

Taking their life or soul out of men for sorcerous purposes is sometimes mentioned in the books by the term t'iao sheng[2], "to draw out or lift out life". There may be a difference between this term and "plucking out life"; perhaps it may denote extraction of the soul without "plucking" at the same time any organs or parts out of or from the body. T'iao sheng may, according to an author of the twelfth century, be effected by killing the victim by means of some animal sent into his body, thus coupling it with something of the nature of ku sorcery. "In Kwangsi", says he, "homicide is committed by drawing out life; they will entertain a "visitor with fish, and, while sitting opposite him, set to work practices "which bend it to their will, in consequence of which it can revive "in his belly and cause his death. And it is stated that he is then "secretly employed in that family as a slave.

"There is living in that province a famous member of the "gentry, who, when he was a judge in Lei-chen (the southern "peninsula of Kwangtung, opposite Hainan island), had to try "a cause of 'lifting out life'. He put some flesh underneath a "dish, and the prisoner performed his arts over it to prove his "magical capacities; and when after a while they lifted up the "dish to see what had taken place under it, the flesh, it is really "true, was overgrown with hair. What a vicious spectre must be "that which can do such things!

"It is, however, quite easy to destroy the effects of such things. "As soon as any one becomes aware that he has something in "his breast or immediately below it, he merely has to swallow "quickly some shing-ma, and thus to vomit it up; or when it "is felt in his belly, he must void it in the natural way by taking

[1] China, vol. II, p. 24.

[2] 挑生.

"without delay some yuh-kin (an aromatic root). These recipes, "which are carved in Lei-cheu on printing-blocks and published "there, were obtained from the aforesaid prisoner"[1].

We have seen (pp. 871 and 876) that human souls, obtained by the cruel method of 'plucking out life', may be kept by sorcerers in images, and by spells, harsh words, and ill-treatment of the same be compelled to work evil. Spirits may, however, be settled into such images without plucking of life; they may for example be obtained from graves or cemeteries by enchantment, mostly connected with a sacrifice of food, dainties, mock money, and incense, or from soul-tablets stolen for the purpose from public repositories (Book I, p. 1058); probably they may be obtained also in a great many other ways of which I have not heard or read. But sorcerers or sorceresses, however wicked they may be, certainly are never so depraved or daring as to employ for black magic the souls of their own deceased relations.

Spirits thus in the power of sorcerers are called yen-shing kwei-mei[2] or, abbreviated, yen-mei[3], "spectres in subjection". The character yen 魘 is no doubt a later modification of 厭, "to suppress, or to reduce to subjection"; we have, of course, to beware of confounding it with the spirits of nightmare, which (see p. 699) it represents also. The term yen-shing is old; old therefore also is the form of sorcery which it denotes. We read in the Standard History of the house of Han, that prince Khing[4], eldest son of the emperor Chang who reigned from A.D. 76 to 88, was, together with his mother, a prey to the envious hatred of the empress Teu[5], who was sonless. She calumniated her rival by

---

[1] 廣西挑生殺人、以魚肉延客、對之行厭勝法、魚肉能反生於人腹中而人以死。相傳謂、人死陰役於其家。

有一名士、嘗爲雷州推官、親勘一挑生公事。置肉盤下、俾囚作法以驗其術、有頃發視、肉果生毛。何物淫鬼乃能爾也。

然解之亦甚易。但覺有物在胸膈、則急服升麻以吐之、覺在腹中、急服鬱金以下之。此方亦雷州鏤板印散者、蓋得之於囚也. *Ling wai tai tah*, ch. 10.

[2] 魘勝鬼魅. [3] 魘魅. [4] 慶. [5] 竇.

every means, "and having intercepted at the gate of the palace-"prison a letter of hers, reading: 'I am so ill, and longing for fresh "t'u, tell my family to fetch some for me', she falsely accused "her of intent to make k u and pronounce imprecations and spells, "and that she would perform y e n-s h i n g magic by means of "that plant" [1]. She attained her object: her rival fell into complete disgrace and killed herself, and the prince was deposed from his dignity of heir-apparent. It seems then that certain plants might serve to impose obedience on spectres; but all details on this point are lacking.

Undoubtedly this sort of black magic has, as well as k u, been often practised in court-life. We read for instance in one of the Standard Histories, that under Heu Tsu, the last emperor of the Ch'en dynasty, who reigned from A.D. 583 to 589, "the harem "indulged in y e n-m e i magic and in methods of misusing spectres, "in order to confound the emperor; they set out heterodox sacrifices "in the palace, assembled there sorcerons w u, making them drum "and dance, and in this way discovered occurrences outside the "palace; no word was spoken by men, no act they did, which the "concubine (Chang) did not know sooner than everybody else and "brought to Heu Tsu's knowledge" [2].

Seeing that the whole Chinese race is enslaved by an unbounded dread of the machinations of evil spirits, it is naturally possessed by a no less overwhelming horror of the occult arts which profess to set to work such dangerous agents. These may attack the victim with the utmost impetuosity, fury and ferocity; hear what the renowned author of the *Liao-chai chi i* has to say on this head:

"Yü was a young gentleman of energy and courage, fond of "boxing and sport, who could, with two pots in his hands, jump up "in the air whirling round like a whirlwind.

"In the Ch'ung-ching period (1628—1644) he was in the Capital

---

[1] 後於掖庭門邀遮得貴人書、云病思生菟、令家求之、因誣言欲作蠱道祝詛、以菟爲厭勝之術. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 85, l. 2.

[2] 後宮又好厭魅之術假鬼道、以惑後主、置淫祀於宮中、聚諸妖巫使之鼓舞、因參訪外事、人間有一言一事[張]妃必先知之、以白後主. Books of the Chen Dynasty, ch. 7, l. 6.

"for the purpose of submitting to the Palace examinations (for the "highest literary degree), when his servant was laid up with illness, "and could not rise. This was a great trouble to him. At that "time there was in the bazaar an able fortune-teller, who could even "discover whether a man was going to live or die; this man he "desired to consult about his servant, but ere he spoke a word to "him, the fortune-teller said: 'Is it not about the illness of your "servant, sir, that you desire to consult me?' Startled at these "words, Yü replied in the affirmative, whereupon the other conti- "nued: 'It is not the patient who will come to grief, but it "might be you yourself, sir, who are in peril'.

"Yü now drew lots for himself. The fortune-teller laid them "out into a k w a, and in alarm exclaimed: 'Sir, you are fated to "die in three days'. Mr. Yü was affrighted for a while, when the "soothsayer calmly said: 'I, your humble servant, possess some "insignificant magic; for ten gold coins I will avert this calamity "from you'. But the other reflected that the time which a man has "to live is pre-destined by fate, and he did not see how magic "could alter it. So he rose without answering, and was just leaving "the house, when the soothsayer said: 'you will save this trifling outlay, "I hope you will not repent it, I hope you will not repent it!' [1]

"All Mr. Yü's friends were concerned for him, and advised him "rather to empty his purse and arouse the soothsayer's compassion "by means of its contents; but he would not hear of it. The third "day came soon, and he sat down upright in his inn, to wait "calmly for what was going to happen. No evil befell him all "day; then the night came, and he shut the door, trimmed the

---

[1] 于公者少任俠、喜拳勇力。能持二壺高作旋風舞。

崇禎間殿試在都、僕疫不起。患之。會市有善卜者、能決人生死、將代問之、既至未言、卜者曰、君莫欲問僕病乎。公駭應之、曰、病者無害、君可危。

公乃自卜。卜者起卦、愕然曰、君三日當死。公驚咤良久、卜者從容曰、鄙人有小術、報我十金當代禳之。公自念生死已定、術豈能解。不應而起、欲出、卜者曰、惜此小費、勿悔、勿悔。

"lamp, and sat down, leaning on his sword, to brave the danger.

"The water-clock had almost run out for the first time, and still "there came nothing to cause his death. He was then thinking "of going to bed, when suddenly he heard a rustling sound in "the crack of the window. He forthwith turned his eyes to that "side, and saw a little tiny man enter through it with a spear "on his shoulder, who, on reaching the ground, shot up to a man's "height. Mr. Yü seized his sword, got up, and at once struck a "blow at that being; but he merely cut the air, and hit nothing. "The spectre forthwith grew small and re-sought the crack, in "order to escape through it; but Yü struck at it so quickly, "that it forthwith fell to the ground. Then throwing a light upon "it, he found a paper man, cut right through the middle.

"Mr. Yü did not venture to go to sleep. He sat down as before, "to await whatever might befall, and after an hour another being "worked itself through the window into the room. It looked strange "and hideous, like a spectre. No sooner had it reached the ground "than he struck at it, cutting it right in two, and as the pieces "kept on wriggling about, he went on dealing blow after blow, "lest they might get up again. Every blow told, and sounded as "though it fell on something hard, and on examining the spot "he saw a clay image, entirely reduced to fragments.

"Now placing his seat below the window, he kept his eye "fixed on the crack. After a long while he heard a noise outside "the window like the bellowing of a bull, something pushing "at the same time against the window-frame with such force as "to make the walls of the room shake and tremble as if they "threatened to fall. Fearing they might come down and crush him, "Mr. Yü thought that he could not do better than go outside and "fight the spectre there. He drew back the bolt with a tearing "noise, rushed out, and beheld a gigantic devil, as tall as the "eaves of the house. By the dim moonlight he saw that its face "was as black as charcoal; from its eyes shot a bright yellow "glare; the upper part of its body was bare, and it wore no shoes; "in its hand it held a bow, and it had arrows at its belt. Yü "stood terror-stricken. The spectre placed an arrow on its bow, but "he knocked it off with his sword, so that it fell to the ground; "then he prepared to strike, but again the devil had an arrow "ready, which Yü evaded by a quick jump sideways. With a "grating sound the arrow quivered in the wall, which enhanced "the fury of the spectre. It drew its sword, made it whistle through

"the air, and looking straight into Yü's face aimed a violent blow "at him; but Yü ducked forward, so that the sword came down "upon a stone in the pavement of the courtyard, splitting it right "in two. Now Yü ran out from between the legs of the spectre "and cut at its ankles, which gave a sound as of hard metal. "This again increased the devil's fury; with a roar like thunder it "turned round to get another blow at Yü. Again, however, Yü "stooped down and made a forward movement, so that the sword "coming down merely cut off a piece from his skirt. But now Yü "was close to the flanks of his assailant; wildly he struck at them, "the blows this time also resounding as on hard metal, and the "result was that the devil came tumbling down flat. He then went "on belabouring it wildly with his sword, the blows giving a ratt- "ling noise like that produced by wooden clappers. Throwing a "light upon it with a candle, he saw that it was a wooden image "of the size of a man. The bow and arrows were still at its belt; "its features, carved and painted, were repulsive and horrid, and "where his sword had hit it, it showed bloody spots [1].

---

[1] 愛公者皆爲公懼、勸罄橐以哀之、公不聽。倏忽至三日、公端坐旅舍、靜以覘之。終日無恙、至夜闔戶挑燈、倚劍危坐。

一漏向盡更無死法。意欲就枕、忽聞窗隙窣窣有聲。急視之、一小人荷戈入、及地則高如人。公捉劍起、急擊之、飄空未中。遂遁小、復尋窗隙、意欲遁出、公疾斫之、應手而倒。燭之則紙人、已腰斷矣。

公不敢臥。又坐待之、踰時一物穿窗入。怪獰如鬼。纔及地急擊之、斷而爲兩、皆蠕動、恐其復起、又連擊之。劍劍皆中、其聲不耎、審視則土偶、片片已碎。

於是移坐窗下、目注隙中。久之聞窗外如牛喘、有物推窗櫺、房壁震搖、其勢欲傾。公懼覆壓、計不如出而鬬之。遂耑然脫扃、奔而出、見一巨鬼、高與簷齊。昏月中見其面黑如煤、眼閃爍有黃光、上無衣、下無履、手弓而腰矢。公方駭。鬼則彎矢、公以劍撥矢、矢墮、欲擊之、則又

"With a torch in his hand Mr. Yü awaited daybreak, when it "occurred to him that those spectres must have been sent by that "fortune-teller, in order to prove the spiritual power of his art by "bringing a man into the clutches of death. Next day he told "the event far and wide, and went with some people to the "fortune-teller's. On seeing Mr. Yü in the distance, this man "rendered himself invisible, but one of the company said: 'we have "here to do with shape-concealing magic, which may be baffled "by the blood of a dog'. Yü gave heed to this suggestion, and "told his men to go and fetch some blood; and on the man "concealing himself as before, he immediately threw the blood on "the spot where he stood, with the result that they saw the "man's head and face re-appear, all stained with the blood. He "stood upright before them like a devil with glaring eyes; they "seized him at once, and handed him over to the magistrate, by "whom he was put to death" [1].

Sorcery as described in this tale becomes doubly murderous and criminal when — as is believed to be often the case — the spirit, let loose in the form of a puppet upon the victim, is the soul of a living man; for should the puppet incur injury by reason of the heroism or cleverness of the victim, that soul may be maimed along with it, even to such an extent as to become no longer fit to

彎矣、公急躍避。矢貫於壁、戰戰有聲、鬼怒甚。拔佩刀、揮如風、望公力劈、公猱進、刀中庭石、石立斷。公出其股間、削鬼中踝、鏗然有聲。鬼益怒、吼如雷、轉身復剨。公又伏身入、刀落斷公裙。公已及脇下、猛斫之、亦鏗然有聲、鬼仆而僵。公亂擊之、聲硬如柝。燭之則一木偶、高大如人。弓矢尚纏腰際、刻畫猙獰、劍擊處皆有血。

[1] 公因秉燭待旦、方悟鬼物皆卜人遣之、欲致人於死以神其術也。次日徧告交知、與共詣卜所。卜人遙見公、幣不可見、或曰、此翳形術也、犬血可破 公如言戒備而往、卜人又匿如前、急以犬血沃立處、但見卜人頭面、皆爲犬血模糊。目灼灼如鬼立、乃執付有司而殺之. Chapter I.

animate the man to which it belongs, in consequence of which he is doomed to death, or becomes sick or idiotic for life. Such ultra black practices are believed to exist. "In Hunan", thus we read, "one Chang Khi-shen understood how to get possession of the "hwun of others by means of magic. Very numerous were they "who regarded him with awe on that account, and Wu, a man "of letters from Kiang-ling, was the only one who refused to believe "in his power. Once he disparaged him before a crowd of people. "Convinced that some spectral evil would be done to him in return "on that very night, he armed himself with a copy of the *Yih king*, "and sat down by the lamp. Presently he heard on the roof a noise "like a blast of wind. A spirit in metal armour pushed open the "door and entered. With a spear it made up to our scholar to "stab him, but he flung the *Yih king* at it, thus throwing it to "the ground, where it changed into a paper puppet. The scholar "picked this up, and placed it between the leaves of his *Yih king*; "but thereupon two other spectres appeared simultaneously, with "blue faces, and axes in their hands. They too were struck to the "ground with the *Yih king*, and also received a place between the "leaves of that book[1].

"At midnight the wife of the magician knocked at the door, "wailing and weeping. 'Chang, my husband', she said, 'yesterday "sent out my two sons to haunt you, not expecting that you "would catch them both by some spiritual magic which we did "not know was in your possession; pray let them go, that they may "return to life'. 'Those who came here', replied Wu, 'were three "men of paper, and not your sons at all' — 'My husband and "my two sons', was the reply, 'entered into paper puppets, and "under that form they came here; at this moment I have three "corpses in my house, which will revive no more after the cock "has crowed' — and piteously she repeated her request over and

[1] 湖南張奇神者能以術攝人魂。崇奉甚衆、江陵書生吳某獨不信。于衆辱之。知其夜必爲祟、持易經坐燈下。聞瓦上颯颯作聲。有金甲神排門入。持鎗來刺、生以易經擲之、金甲神倒地、視之一紙人耳。拾置書卷內夾之、有頃有青面二鬼持斧齊來。亦以易經擲之、倒如初、又夾于書卷內。

"over again, until Wu said: 'You have done harm to not a few "men, and you deserve such punishment; but I pity you and will "give you back one son'. And the woman, bathed in tears, went "away with one puppet. Next day the scholar received the news "that Chang Khi-shen and his eldest son had died, and that only "the younger was alive" [1].

Many centuries ago wild tales were already current of ghosts having been let loose upon mankind *en masse* by means of sorcery with puppets; and such things are stated in the books to have been freely indulged in with the object of causing general commotion and thus furthering the work of insurgents. Such statements may be thoroughly legendary, or perhaps we ought to make large allowance for exaggeration, yet the fact that they were made and, moreover, transmitted by authors to this day as actual events, testifies to the intensity of the belief in the reality of sorcery on such a large scale. One of the most interesting among those stories, which takes us back to the second half of the ninth century, runs as follows: —

"When under the T'ang dynasty the rebellion of (Hwang) Ch'ao "was on the point of breaking out, there lived in the hill of "Meritorious Works in Pien, in the Chung-yuen region (in Honan) "sorcerous Buddhist monks, to whom the clergy far and near "resorted. Even the scholars and the people were their humble "adherents. They drew spirit-rebels on paper, and let them go "into the dwellings of men to cause misfortune, and by this magic "they sowed so much confusion among the inmates, that none "could enjoy a quiet sleep from night till morning. When they "thus brought sickness and misery, and the people then engaged "monks of the hill of Meritorious Works for a good pay to employ

---

[1] 夜半其婦號泣叩門。曰、妾夫張某昨日遣兩子作祟、不料俱爲先生所擒、未知有何神術、乞放歸性命。吳曰、來者三紙人、並非汝子。婦曰、妾夫及兩兒皆附紙人來此、刻頃有三屍在家、過雞鳴則不能復生矣、哀告再三、吳曰、汝害人不少、當有此報、今吾憐汝還汝一子可也。婦持一紙人泣而去。明日訪之奇神及長子皆死、惟少子存. *Tsze puh yu*, ch. 8.

"their religious magic against the evil, the latter put a stop to it "immediately.

"But there was more: the monks painted armoured soldiers on "paper, and then night after night neighing sounds were heard "through streets and wards, and trampling of hoofs over the city-"walls; but at daybreak everything vanished. Often also they painted "dogs, which they burned and conjured with spells, and then at "night dogs howled and barked in the streets and bit each other, "preventing the people from sleeping; and in these cases too, when "the people engaged the monks for money, these apparitions dis-"appeared without leaving a shadow or sound. In Hwah-cheu also "there was a Buddhist monk deeply versed in sorcery, whose "*modus operandi* was exactly the same as that of the monks of the "hill of Meritorious Works; and public persons as well as private "people were greatly annoyed by it [1].

"At that time the member of the Chancery and State Council "Wang Toh became governor of Hwah and T'ai, and proclaimed "that that region of southern Yen had fallen a prey to calamities, "which should be averted. To this end altar grounds were laid "out in his head quarters and throughout all his army corps, "and several thousand monks were called upon to officiate. But "their numbers were insufficient; therefore the entire host of disciples "in the hill of Meritorious Works in Pien-cheu were consecrated "and repaired to the altars. With their banners and ornaments, "their conches and cymbals they proceeded to the head quarters, "and on the evening on which they were to go to the several "altars, those among the monks who possessed the highest reputa-

---

[1] 唐[黃]巢寇將亂、中原汴中功德山有妖僧、遠近桑門皆歸之。至於士庶無不降附者。能於紙上畫神寇、放入人家、令作禍祟、幻惑居人通宵繼晝不能安寢。或致人疾苦及命功德山贈金作法、則患立除之。

又畫紙作甲兵、夜夜於街坊嘶鳴、騰踐城郭、天明則無所見。又多畫其犬、焚祝之、夜則鳴吠相咬囓於街衢、居人不得安眠、命而贈之卽悄無影響。又滑州亦有一僧、頗善妖術、與功德山無異、公私頗患之。

"tion for virtue were picked out for admittance into the head "quarters, while the remainder were ordered to distribute themselves "among the various army divisions for the performance of rites "and the recital of liturgies. When all were within the camps, "the gates were firmly closed, and the monks buried alive in "the ground. The wearers of square priestly robes who thus met "their death were several thousands in number. At the head quarters "the chiefs of the hill of Meritorious Works and their inferiors "were examined (under torture), and confessed that they were "commanders of clubs of Hwang Ch'ao's insurgents, who wanted "to rise in concert with him in the two departments. They were "ordered to be exterminated to a man" [1].

Spectres properly subdued and controlled can, of course, be employed for every sort of evil work which imaginative and superstitious minds may conceive. The wildest absurdities on this head are printed and reprinted, told and retold; indeed, the powers of sorcerous wizards and witches in a country where neither culture nor religion has ever set limits to credulity, are simply as boundless as credulity itself. Everything we have read in this volume concerning evil inflicted by invisible spectral hands, and of course much more, may be work of sorcerers; thus they may *e. g.* send forth their spectres to create panics among men by cutting off their hair, or to possess them and make them ill, idiotic or mad, or to induce them to commit suicide, or to kill them, or to render their lives in their own houses intolerable by throwing stones and other things, even taking off the tiles for missiles; etc. etc. Sui Yuen relates the following story:

"Wang Kung-nan, my sister's husband, is living in Hang-cheu "upon the Hung-ho bridge. One morning on going out he found a

---

[1] 時中書令王鐸鎮滑臺、遂下令曰南燕地方有災宜善禳之。遂自公衙至于諸營軍門啓道場、延僧數千人。僧數不足、遂牒沂州諸功德山一行徒衆悉赴之。遂以幡花螺鈸迎至衙、赴道場之夕分選迎上名德入于公衙、其餘并令散赴諸營禮懺。洎入營悉鍵門而坑之。方袍而死者數千人。衙中只留功德山會長已下訊之、並是巢賊之驍將、欲自二州相應而起。咸命誅之.
K K, ch. 287.

"Taoist doctor at his gate, who said with folded hands: 'Sir, give "me a fish if you please'; but Kung-nan angrily retorted: 'fish "you want, you, an ascetic and a vegetarian!' 'I mean a wooden "fish'[1], the other replied; but Kung-nan refused again; on which "the Taoist proceeded on his way, saying: 'Sir, you are stingy "now, but you will regret it later on'.

"On the following night Kung-nan heard the noise of falling "tiles, and at daybreak he saw them all lying in his inner courtyard. "And on the next night his clothes all flew into the privy-pit. He "asked the family of Chang Yiu-khien, a literary graduate, for a "charm, and this man said: 'I have two charms, a cheap one and "a dear one; by means of the former, Chang Chi-kho will rule "those spectres by day and night; by the latter, Chang Chi-hien's "divine power (shen) will catch the apparitions'. Kung-nan took "the cheap one, and suspended it in the central apartment of his "house; and his rest was not disturbed that night.

"But when the third day had elapsed, an old Taoist doctor of "an antique and singular appearance came and knocked at his "gate. As Kung-nan happened to be out, his second son Heu-wen "went out to see the man, who said: 'Your house has been bothered "the other day by that Taoist doctor; he is my disciple; you have "tried to help yourself by means of charms, but you had better seek "help from me; — tell your father to come to-morrow to the pavilion "of the Cool Springs by the West Lake, and to cry there aloud "three times 'iron hood'; I shall then come; if your father does "not do so, the charm will be stolen by spectres'[2].

1 See page 736.

2 余姊夫王貢南居杭州之橫河橋。晨出、遇道士於門、拱手曰、乞公一魚、貢南嗔曰、汝出家人啖素、乃索魚肉耶。曰、木魚也、貢南拒之、道士曰、公吝于前、必悔於後、遂去。

是夜聞落瓦聲、旦視之、瓦集于庭。次夜衣服盡入厠溷中。貢南乞符于張有虔秀才家、張曰、吾有二符、其價一賤一貴、賤者張之可制之于旦夕、貴者張之現神獲怪。貢南取賤者、歸懸中堂、是夜果安。

越三日又有老道士、形容古怪、來叩門。適貢南他適、次子後文出見、道士曰、汝家日前爲某

"When Kung-nan came home, his son informed him of that "visit. At daybreak Kung-nan repaired to the pavilion, and cried "'iron hood' several hundred times, but he remained alone, and no "answer came. Just then the prefect of Ts'ien-t'ang, Wang Kia, "passed; Kung-nan caught hold of the pole of his sedan-chair and "revealed to him his troubles, but the magistrate thought he was "crazy, and all he got was a shower of curses and insults. That "night he assembled several brave and strong men of his family "to protect that charm, but at the fifth watch a tearing noise was "heard, and lo, the charm was gone, and in the morning they "saw a giant's footprint over a foot in size on a chair. From that "time there was a crowd of spectres every night at his gate, who "tapped and threw crockery about. Kung-nan lived in a great "fright; for fifty gold-pieces he purchased charms from Chang, and "when these were put up in his house the spectres kept quiet.

"Then one day he was angry with his eldest son Heu-ts'eng, and "was just going to cane him, but he ran away. On the third day "he had not come back; my sister wept incessantly, and Kiang-nan "went in person to seek the runaway, whom he found wandering "beside the river, on the point of drowning himself. Forthwith "they put him in a sedan-chair, and found him twice as heavy as "usual [1]. Arriving at home, he stared vacantly and jabbered unin- "telligibly, and lying on his sleeping-mat he suddenly exclaimed "in a fit of terror: 'they are going to investigate the case: I am "going!' 'Where will you go, my child?' asked his father, 'I shall "go with you'. And Heu-ts'eng rose, put on his ceremonial robe "and cap, and knelt down below the spot where the charms were "affixed; Kung-nan remained at his side, but saw nothing. Heu-ts'eng "now saw a god seat himself on a chair, with a third eye between "his eyebrows, a golden face, and a red beard; prostrate beside "him was a crowd of elegant young men. And the god addressed "him thus: 'Wang, your existence in the world of light was not "yet near its end; why were you seized with such fright that you "were tempted to seek death?, And further he added: 'And you, "underlings of the five parts of the Universe, you have made

---

道所苦、其人則我之弟子也、汝索救于符、不如索救於我、可囑汝父明日到西湖之冷泉亭、大呼鐵冠三聲、我卽至矣、否則符且爲鬼竊去。

1 A spectre had settled in his body.

"yourselves the slaves of sorcerous Taoists, without any order or "authorisation from the Supreme Purity (Heaven)!' Everybody "confessed himself guilty; the god administered thirty blows with "sticks to the spectres, which shrieked for mercy, while Heu-ts'eng "saw their buttocks change colour under the blows and become "like grey mud. The session ended, the god gave each of them "a kick with his booted foot. Heu-ch'eng then awoke as if from "a dream; perspiration flowed down his back, but from that time "the family enjoyed rest and peace" [1].

This tale is far from relating the worst: — certain witches have made their spectral slaves produce food wherewith to change unsuspecting and innocent travellers into beasts of burden: —

"Under the T'ang dynasty there was to the west of Pien-cheu (now "Khai-fung) an inn by a plank-bridge, the hostess of which was one "Miss Three; nobody could tell whence she came. She had lived there

---

[1] 貢南歸、後文告之。貢南侵晨至冷泉亭、大呼鐵冠數百聲、杳無應者。適錢唐令王嘉會路過、貢南攔輿、口訴原委、王疑其痴、大被詬辱。是夜集家丁雄健者數人護守此符、五更聿然有聲、符已不見、旦視之、几有巨人跡長尺許。從此每夜羣鬼畢集撞門擲碗。貢南大駭、以五十金重索符於張氏、懸後鬼果寂然。

一日王怒其長男後曾、將杖之、後曾逃。三日不歸、余姊泣不已、貢南親自尋求、見後曾徬徨于河、將溺焉。急拉上肩輿、其重倍他日。到家兩眼瞪視、語喃喃不可辨、臥席上忽驚呼曰、要審、要審、我卽去。貢南曰、兒何去、我當偕去。後曾起、具衣冠、跪符下、貢南與俱、貢南無所見。後曾見一神上坐、眉間三目、金面紅鬚、旁跪者皆渺少丈夫。神曰、王某、陽壽未終、爾何得以其有畏懼之心便惑之以死。又曰、爾等五方小吏不受上清勅令乃爲妖道奴僕耶。各謝罪、神予杖三十、鬼啾啾乞哀、視其臀作青泥色。事畢以靴脚踢。後曾如夢之初醒、汗浹背、嗣後家亦安寧. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 2.

"a spinster for more than thirty years, without having any children "or any other relations. There were in the house several rooms. "She earned a living by selling ready cooked food, was very "well-to-do, and kept a great herd of donkeys. Whenever it came "to pass that official or private travellers by car or on horseback "were short of money, she regularly lowered her charges to help "them. Thus she gained a reputation with all men for her virtue, "and travellers from far and near put up at her inn.

"Now it happened in the Yuen hwo period (A. D. 806—821) "that a stranger from Hü-cheu, named Chao Ki-hwo, who was "passing that way on a journey to Tung-tu (the present Ho-nan), "lodged there for a night. Some six or seven guests had arrived "before him, and each occupied a bed, so that Ki-hwo, as the "last comer, could only get a couch in a deep corner, close to "the wall of the hostess' room. Miss Three provided her guests "with food on a very liberal scale, and when it was quite dark "she brought wine, and very cheerfully kept the visitors company "over their drink; and Ki-hwo, though not in the habit of taking "wine, also enjoyed her jesting. In this wise the second watch "passed, and the guests, intoxicated and weary, lay down to sleep, "while Miss Three retired into the house, closed the door, and blew "out the candles.

"Everybody was soon in a sound sleep, and Ki-hwo alone tossed "on his couch sleepless, when he heard through the wall Miss "Three make a rustling noise, as if she were shifting things from "their places. Through a crack his eyes fell upon her, and he saw "how she took from underneath an up-turned dish a candle, which "she trimmed and lighted, producing thereupon from a linen box "a set of ploughing-implements, with a wooden cow and a wooden "puppet, each six or seven ts'un in size. Placing those things in "front of the furnace, she squirted a mouthful of water over them, "on which the two beings began to walk and run. The wooden "man harnessed the cow to the plough, and ploughed up the ground "before the bed where the mat covered it, making several furrows "to and fro; on which she fetched from the same box a parcel "containing buckwheat, which she gave to the wooden man to sow. "In a moment it shot up, flowered, and was ripe. She told the "man to reap it, and when he had trodden out the ears, she got "seven or eight pints, which he ground to flour in a small mill "set on the floor for the purpose. Finally she put away the wooden "man into the box, and made warm cakes of the flour.

"At that moment the cocks crew, and the visitors prepared "themselves to depart. Miss Three was up first of all to light the "lamp, and placed the fresh hot cakes on the table as a collation "for the guests. Ki-hwo, nervous as he was, bade her a hasty "farewell, opened the door, and departed; but from outside he "watched the house, and saw the visitors around the table eat "heartily of the cakes; and lo, ere these had all gone down their "throats, the men simultaneously began to crawl on the floor and "to bray, and changed immediately into asses. Miss Three drove "them into the inn, and took possession of their money and effects[1].

---

[1] 唐汴州西有板橋店、店主三娘子者不知何從來。寡居年三十餘、無男女、亦無親屬。有舍數間。以鬻粢爲業、然而家甚富貲、多有驢畜。往來公私車乘有不逮者、輒賤其估以濟之。人皆謂之有道、故遠近行旅多歸之。

元和中許州客趙季和將詣東都過是宿焉。客有先至者六七人皆據便榻、季和後至最得深處一榻、榻鄰比主人房壁。既而三娘子供給諸客甚厚、夜深致酒、與諸客會飲極歡、季和素不飲酒亦預言笑。至二更許諸客醉倦各就寢、三娘子歸室閉關息燭。

人皆熟睡、獨季和轉展不寐、隔壁聞三娘子窸窣若動物之聲。偶然隙中窺之、卽見三娘子向覆器下取燭、挑明之、後于巾箱中取一副耒耜并一木牛一木偶人、各大六七寸。置于竈前、含水噀之、二物便行走。木人則牽牛駕耒耜、遂耕牀前一席地、來去數番、又于箱中取出一裹蕎麥子、授于木人種之。須臾生花發麥熟。令木人收割、持踐可得七八升、又安置小磨子礲成麪。訖却收木人子于箱中、卽取麥作燒餅數枚。

有頃雞鳴、諸客欲發。三娘子先起點燈、置新作燒餅于食牀上、與客點心。季和心動遽辭、開門而去、卽潛于戶外窺之、乃見諸客圍牀食燒

"Ki-hwo told nobody a word of his adventure, for he would "fain get that magic for himself. A month had passed away, when "he returned from Tung-tu. When about to arrive at the inn "by the plank-bridge, he made some warm buckwheat cakes of "the same dimensions as those of the other day, and then put up "in the inn again for the night. Miss Three behaved merrily and "cheerfully as of old, and as there came no travellers beside himself "that night, she lavished so much the more attention upon him, "still asking him late at night whether he desired anything. He "answered that he would be obliged to have some breakfast served "up early in the morning at his departure. The lady assured him "that he might be perfectly at ease on this point, and might "sleep soundly. After midnight, Ki-hwo perceived she did the "same things as the other day. At daybreak she prepared a dish "with food for him, putting also several warm cakes into it; and "when she was gone to fetch something else, he availed himself "of her absence to run downstairs and exchange one of the cakes "he had brought with him for one of hers, without the lady perceiving "it. When on the point of starting and going to eat, Ki-hwo said: "'pray, hostess, taste a warm cake of mine'; and he picked out "the one he had exchanged, and gave it her. No sooner had it "entered her mouth than she stooped to the ground braying, and was "transformed immediately into a shapely, robust donkey. Forthwith "Ki-hwo mounted it, and departed. The wooden puppet, the wooden "cow, and the other things he took along with him, but the magic "itself did not become his, for all his attempts to exercise it "proved vain.

"On the ass thus created by his trick Ki-hwo travelled about "elsewhere, never hindered by any obstacles, and making a hundred "miles a day on it. Four years elapsed in this way, when he "rode through the barriers, and arrived at a spot five or six "miles east of a temple of the god of the Hwa mountain. Here "he saw an old man clap his hands with loud laughter; 'Miss "Three of the plank-bridge' he cried, 'whence have you got this "body and these bones?' and laying hold of the ass, he said to "Ki-hwo: 'Indeed, she is guilty, but it is punishment enough "for her to have come in conflict with you; have compassion; please

---

餅、未盡忽一時踣地作驢鳴、須臾皆變驢矣。三娘子盡驅入店、後而盡沒其貨財。

Chao Ki-hwo, with the Witch who was changed into a Donkey by her own Sorcery.

"allow me to deliver her from this shape'. So the old man with "both his hands tore asunder the mouth of the ass, and lo, Miss Three "sprang out of the skin in her former shape. Then, after making "some courtesies to the old man, she ran off, and it was never "found out whither she had gone" [1].

In complete harmony with the general conviction that it is hardly possible to overrate the evil which sorcerers may cause by means of their spectres, legislators in China have for many ages judged that the laws against them can hardly be severe enough. The laws of the Sung dynasty, which are stated in the Standard History to have been modelled upon those of the house of T'ang[2], put "y e n-m e i, "the use of spells, and the fabrication of sorcerous writings and "formulae, as also the transmission of such black arts to others" [3],

---

[1] 季和亦不告于人、私有慕其術者。後月餘日季和自東都回。將至板橋店、預作蕎麥燒餅大小如前、既至復寓宿焉。三娘子歡悅如故、其夕更無他客、主人供待愈厚、夜深殷勤問所欲。季和曰、明晨發請隨事點心。三娘子曰、此事無疑、但請穩睡。半夜後季和窺見之、一依前所爲。天明三娘子具盤食果、實燒餅數枚于盤中、訖更取他物、季和乘間走下、以先有者易其一枚、彼不知覺也。季和將發就食曰、請主人嘗客一片燒餅、乃揀所易者與噉之。纔入口、三娘子據地作驢聲、卽立變爲驢甚壯健。季和卽乘之發。兼盡收木人木牛子等、然不得其術、試之不成。

季和乘策所變驢周遊他處、未嘗阻失日行百里。後四年乘入關、至華岳廟東五六里。忽覩一老人拍手大笑曰、板橋三娘子、何得作此形骸、因捉驢謂季和曰、彼雖有過、然遭君亦甚矣、可憐、請許從此放之。老人乃從驢口鼻邊以兩手擘開、三娘子自皮中跳出、宛復舊身。向老人拜訖走去、更不知所之. *Hwan i chi* 幻異志, Record of magical Wonders, ascribed to one Sun Wei 孫頠, who must have lived in the ninth century. The copy we possess contains fifteen longer and shorter tales of little interest.

2 See the History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 199, l. 2.

3 厭魅呪詛造妖書妖言傳授妖術. *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 15.

among the most grave crimes. In the code of the Mongol dynasty we read: "He who uses yen-mei against a high officer shall be put "to death. A son who uses them against his father, shall, even though "a general amnesty take place, live in banishment for life in a "remote region; and a wife, who uses them against her husband, has "to submit to his will should he sell her to another husband" [1].

The Ming dynasty had in its code of laws, in the same title which treats of ku sorcery, an article against yen-mei, which we also find in the same place, copied to the very letter, in the code of the now-reigning house; in fact both codes in their entirety are actually the same. In that of the present dynasty the article contains, however, some interpolations, which in the following translation we shall place between brackets:

"If yen-mei have been made, or written charms and spells, "with the intent to kill somebody, then each culprit (the children "and grandchildren, slaves of both sexes, hired labourers, superiors, "and seniors, inferiors and juniors of his family) shall be punished "as in the case of intent to murder (with a beginning of execution, "yet without any infliction of wounds) [2]. Should any person have "been killed by means of such proceedings, each culprit shall be "punished, in accordance with that same law, as if the murder was "actually carried into effect [3]. Should the crime have been committed "merely to produce disease or suffering in any person, the punish-"ments shall be by two degrees less than those mentioned above, "except in the case of children and grandchildren against their "parents or paternal grandparents, or slaves of either sex or hired "labourers against their masters" [4].

---

[1] 諸覺魘大臣者處死。諸妻覺魘其夫、子覺魘其父、會大赦者、子流遠、妻從其夫嫁賣. History of the Yuen Dynasty, ch. 104, l. 7.

2 That is to say, they shall receive one hundred blows with long sticks, and be banished for three years. Cf. ch. 26, first title.

3 They shall be decapitated: see *ibid.*

[4] 若造覺魘、符書、咒詛、欲以殺人者[凡人子孫奴婢僱工人尊長卑幼]各以謀殺[已行未傷]論。因而致死者各依本殺法。欲止令人疾苦者、減二等、其子孫於祖父母父母、奴婢僱工人於家長者、各不減. *Ta Tsing luh li*, the eighth title of ch. 26; and, save the bracketed parts, the *Ta Ming luh li*.

"Yen-mei", says the paraphrase of this cruel article, "means "the performance of magic by means of spectres in subjection, for "example, the painting or carving of human images and piercing "their hearts, or driving nails into their eyes, or fettering their "hands and feet. Those 'written charms' refer to the writing of "charms or archaic characters for sorcerous use, and to burial "of inscribed papers, in order to evoke spectral evil; furthermore "they refer to the burning of such things so as to give in this "way orders to spectres to perform their evil work; — and those "'spells' refer to such things as the practice of writing down the "year, month and day of the birth of a man whom one desires "to kill, and pronouncing spells over the writing"[1].

Also on pages 824, 858, 871, 876 and 885 we have seen, that it is by means of charms, spells, formulæ of enchantment or witchery, or by whatever names we choose to call those things, that sorcerers bend the spectres, instrumental to the infliction of evil, to their will, or make them their "slaves"; and on page 876 we have learned that charms are burned for the purpose. It is then evident enough that charms actually are written orders sent into the world of spirits; in this quality they mostly bear, as is the case with terrestrial official orders, the impress of a seal. They are called fu[2]; also fu-shu[3], "charm-writings", or fu-chang[4], "charm-formulæ". Spells, called cheu[5] or chu[6], or chuh[7], "imprecations", no doubt bear likewise the character of orders; they may be recited or chanted, or exclaimed with vehemence, according as they are deemed to be incantations or bullying phrases. Charms and spells thus may be explicitly said to be the very main spring of sorcery, as but for them spectres would not perform their evil work.

A very common method of sorcery also consists in tempting spectres by means of sacrifices to do harm to men. We have read of sacrifices connected with sorcery in the first century of our era

---

[1] 魘魅者謂行魘勝鬼魅之術、如圖畫人像、雕刻人形、鑽心、釘眼、縛手繫足之類。書符咒詛者謂使用邪法書符畫篆、或埋帖以召鬼祟、或燒化以託妖邪、并將所欲殺之人生年月日書寫咒詛之類.

[2] 符. [3] 符書. [4] 符章. [5] 咒.

[6] 詛. [7] 祝.

(pp. 844—845); we have learned that the incantations by which cat-spectres were launched against "objects", were accompanied by offerings (p. 610); and we have read of sacrifices offered to k u (p. 850) and gold caterpillars (p. 858). In Amoy, and no doubt elsewhere equally, sacrifices with sorcerous purpose are especially offered on tombs, and before ownerless soul-tablets or fragments thereof. As a rule the sorcerer will at the same time vow that, as soon as his victim is really smarting under the evil destined for him, he will reward the spectre by burning for it mock money and other things, to an amount stipulated to a farthing. Such sorcery connected with sacrificial bribery is styled in Amoy *hē tsoá tsòe khiò*[1], "sorcery with a promise of paper". Inferior spirits in the service of the god of Walls and Moats or the god of the Eastern Mountain, and having their images in the temples of these divinities, are preferably tempted in this way to evil; but nobody would find it in his heart to approach with such proposals these divinities themselves, or any others of rank and dignity, except in case of serious outrage, when the hand of divine justice is wanted to secure vengeance. Under such circumstances it may even happen that spirits and deities of whatever rank and order are invoked publicly by victims of wrong-doing. This is the ultimate resource for defence, a desperate cry for help to the whole world of spirits and men, and therefore not looked upon as sorcery, not even as a thing bad or unfair, but applauded by public sympathy as a check upon cruel abuse of power.

In Amoy it is no rare occurrence to see helpless people, pressed hard by merciless creditors or enemies, make use of these means. With hair dishevelled, blackened face, a sheet of mock money behind each ear, the wretched man or woman strides through streets and lanes for a whole day, or even for several days in succession, cursing the foe with all the vehemence at his disposal, pouring out quite a vocabulary of revilings, and calling upon all spirits of heaven and earth by their names and titles to send down upon the guilty head whatever ills they have in store for the wicked The strange accoutrement of the imprecator associates him with devils and demons who are expected to come and avenge him. In one hand he holds a round flat tray of wickerwork, otherwise used for winnowing rice by throwing it up in the wind; round the border this object is decorated with fluttering sheets of mock money, and he beats it with a steel-

[1] 許紙造○.

yard; hence the local name of this sorcery: *p'ah poà-ki kó*[1], "to beat a tray-drum".

As a mark of his misery and grief, the wretch wears sackcloth, as if he were mourning the loss of his father or mother. His back displays on a piece of linen or paper the name and address of the author of his woes, with a short account of his wicked deeds. One visit at least is paid to the temple of the Eastern Mountain god, and one to that of the god of Walls and Moats, where, prostrate before the images of these two supreme administrators of divine justice, the tray-drummer cries aloud his complaints. The priests in charge of those buildings feel themselves in duty bound to keep him out with gentle, pacifying words, but they stand powerless because of the mob, which with merry inquisitiveness throngs around the oppressed innocent. The height of effect is obtained when the latter gets to the big temple-drum and beats it to arouse the attention of the god, or if, by ringing the great temple-bell, he convokes all divinities and spirits within hearing distance. But still worse should the victim affix to the bell a shred of paper bearing the oppressor's name, this being then dinned into the ears of the just gods of vengeance at every peal.

I once saw in Amoy three matrons, honest slave-brokers in partnership, conjointly "beating the tray-drum" against some unknown individual who had abducted out of their house a girl consigned to them for sale, and against this maid herself, whose elopement placed the stainless reputation of the firm under suspicion of defrauding consigners of human merchandize.

We cannot possibly doubt that there must exist a great many more forms of animistic sorcery, which would fall within the compass of this chapter. We may instance the base attempt to bring down a malicious ghost upon a victim by smearing him with "corpse-oil" (Book I, p. 23), if it may be allowed that such oil contains soul-substance of the dead man beside whose corpse it was burning.

---

[1] 撲簸箕鼓.

## CHAPTER IV.

### SORCERY BY MEANS OF SOULS OF OBJECTS.

The principle that things which we call lifeless are, according to the Chinese, actually animated, especially if they have a human or somewhat human shape, has been treated by us in Chapter XIII of Part I (pp. 325 *sqq.*). Naturally, as we have pointed out in Chapter VII of Part II (p. 664), this dogma has led to the inference that such things may be spectres, and may render dangerous all spots where they lie or where they are hidden.

These notions, being firmly fixed in the Chinese mind, reduce sorcery to an art so simple that everybody may practise it in a hundred ways. It merely requires concealment of some image, or anything whatever, in the house of the victim, or in something which is next to his person, or which otherwise comes in close contact with him, so that the indwelling soul may do its fatal work. Such instruments of sorcery belong, of course, to the class of y e n-m e i or "spectres in subjection" to which we have paid attention in the preceding chapter, and they are actually denoted by this name.

Such sorcerous things may have been the images which, in the blood-stained last period of the reign and life of Wu of the Han dynasty, were buried in the roads by which he travelled (p. 829), and in the palace of his heir-apparent (pp. 831 and 832). They may, however, have been images of that sovereign, made for purposes of which we shall treat in the next chapter. The practice of hiding images with malicious intent is mentioned in books clearly and often enough to remove all doubts of its actual prevalence in times past and present. An author of the fourteenth century, for instance, wrote the following lines:

"The people, being so ignorant, are often beguiled by sorcerous "w u. The authorities severely interdict their practices, but nothing "can check them. There lived a well-to-do family on the seashore, "not accustomed to believe in male and female w u; therefore, "when once they had a house built, a w u told the carpenter to

"make a human image of wood and put it within a pillar; and "when the members of the family, after having suffered for some "years from sickness, consulted that wu, he declared that there "must be some 'thing in subjection' hidden in the pillar; they "made an opening in it, and actually found the thing. But on their "making enquiries of the carpenter, the latter confessed what the "wu had ordered him to do. The family informed the magistrates, "and the wu was punished. This event was the origin of the "general prohibition which Ho Tszĕ-ching, the prefect of that "district, issued at that time against heterodox sacrifices and male "and female wu" [1].

The *Tszĕ puh yü* also relates such sorcerous tricks. "In Tszĕ-"ch'wen (in Shantung), the great-grandson of the Secretary to the "Board Kao Nien-tung, a siu-ts'ai of the highest class, has himself "told me, that in his youth, when he had emptied the marriage-"goblet, he got a head-ache and suddenly sank down to the ground "in a swoon, unconscious of men and things around him. Some "days afterwards he frequently heard a voice by his ears, uttering "sounds like leh-leh, and when another period of days had passed "away, he saw an apparition like a baby, a little more than one "foot high. From that day he grew weak and emaciated, finally "being unable to rise from his bed. Convinced that he was under "the influence of sorcery, his family called a magician, but the "attempts of this man to expel the spectre were of no avail. They "now secretly concealed a sword at the head of his bed, and from "that moment, whenever he awoke, he saw the child flee hastily "from there, and disappear under a wooden bench. They placed a "copper basin with water under the latter; and one day at noon "the patient, on waking up from his slumber and seeing the child "come, brandished the sword so well that it tumbled into the water

---

[1] 愚民惑於妖巫。雖官府嚴禁、莫之能止。海上一富家平日不信巫覡、一旦營屋、巫者令木匠造木人置柱栱中、數年其家人病、叩於巫、巫言有厭勝於柱栱、發而果得之。乃詰之匠者、告以巫前所教也。聞於官、巫服罪。時縣尹何予正大禁淫祀及巫覡皆由此始. *Nung-t'ien yü hwa* 農田餘話, a work of the fourteenth century, in two chapters, by an unknown hand; T S, sect. 藝術, ch. 810.

"with a grating noise. The family now found a wooden image of "a child in the basin, in red clothes, with a red cord around its "neck, at which it pulled with both its hand as if to strangle itself. "They destroyed this image by fire, and thus put an end to that "sorcery. Subsequently they were told that a workman in the village "had died on the same day. The truth was, that when the graduate "married and settled in the house of his wife's family as an adopted "son-in-law, his wife's father had the roof repaired, on which occasion "that workman, because something which he demanded was refused "him, had performed that y e n - m e i sorcery; but as soon as it was "baffled, he himself lost his life" [1].

It is therefore a strict necessity for any one who has a house built to keep himself on good terms with his masons and carpenters, and to offer them a bounteous meal from time to time; for should any of them insert a little puppet of wood or lime somewhere into a wall, or under the floor, or in the ridge-beam, apparitions will become frequent, and crowds of spectres of all sorts, vanishing as soon as seen, will keep the inmates in constant alarm by their moaning and whistling. Such black magic becomes more effectual should the perpetrator use a fragment of a human bone for the purpose: indeed, few things are animated so thoroughly as the remains of a human body. A soul-tablet operates very efficaciously also, or a fragment of it, easily snatched out of some public repository for such animated things (Book I, p. 1058). But souls of

---

[1] 淄川高念東侍郎元孫明經某自言、其少時合巹後得頭眩疾、輒仆地、不知人事。數日後耳邊漸作聲如曰勒勒、又數日復見形、依稀若尺許小兒。自是日羸瘦、不能起牀。家人以爲妖、延術士、遣之不效。乃密於床頭藏劍、病寐時每見小兒由榻前疾趨木几下卽滅。遂以銅盤盛水置几下、一日午寢方覺、見童子至、以劍揮之、剸然墮水中。家人於銅盤內得一木偶小兒、穿紅衣、頸纏紅絲、兩手拽之作自勒狀。乃燬之、妖遂絶。後相傳里中某匠卽於是日死。蓋明經人贅時其岳家修葺房宇、匠有求而不遂、故爲是壓魅術、術破故匠卽死. Supplementary *Tsze puh yu*, ch. 7.

animals too can become spectres, and therefore a bone of a cat, dog, goose or fowl may serve the purpose equally well.

Thus wives and concubines may by means of objects of sorcery always agreeably break the monotony of their dreary backroom lives, and at the same time satisfy their mutual animosity and jealousy. "Su P'ei of Wu-kung was prefect of Ch'u-khiu in the "T'ien pao period (A.D. 742—756). His daughter was married "to a member of the Li clan, who, lavishing his favours on a "female slave, did not live on the best terms of love and affection "with Su P'ei's daughter. Then that slave asked a sorcerer to exer- "cise upon this woman his black arts by means of souls in sub- "jection. They buried a charm in the dung-hill of Li's dwelling, "and knitted seven multicoloured puppets, somewhat more than "one ch'ih in size, which they concealed in a hole of the eastern "wall, covering the opening with clay, so that nobody knew it. "Thus some years passed away, when that slave woman of Li died, "so that Su P'ei's daughter remained alone in the dwelling; but "when four or five years more had elapsed, the sorcery worked, and "the multicoloured women came forth and haunted the dwelling, in "consequence of which the lady Su fell sick and became extremely "ill. Nobody could guess the cause, Li's slave being dead [1].

"Another year passed, in the course of which magicians were "invited over and over again to come and stop the evil by means "of spells; they came with everything necessary, but could not "master it. So they watched for the re-appearance of those spirits "and assailed them with several dozen men on all sides, to seize "them. They caught one, which they found to be possessed of a "complete body with eyebrows and eyes. It wringled incessantly "in their hands, and on being belaboured with their swords its "blood flowed on the ground. They then burned it on a pile "of firewood. The other spirits appeared in the burning-place,

---

[1] 武功蘇丞天寶中爲楚丘令。女適李氏、李氏素寵婢、因與丞女情好不篤。其婢求術者行魘蠱之法。以符埋李氏宅糞土中、又縛綵婦人形七枚、長尺餘、藏於東牆窟內而泥飾之、人不知也。數歲李氏內婢相纔死亡、女寡居、四五年魘蠱術成、綵婦人出遊宅內、蘇氏因爾疾發悶絕。李婢已死、莫知所由。

"wailing and crying, either in the air or on the ground. And when "the incineration was completed, they carved in the house a like- "ness of a person, and appeared next day in white dress to howl "for several days.

"In half a year the inmates caught successively six puppets "more, and burned them. One on being caught escaped, and as "they pursued it, it suddenly entered the dung-hill. Su then with "more than a hundred men excavated the dung-hill to a depth of "seven or eight ch'ih; and they found a charm of peach-wood "bearing an inscription in red, still legible; 'Li's slave', thus it "ran, 'in order to bewitch the daughter of the Su family with "spectres in subjection, makes seven human images; they are on "the east, above a pencil, in an earth basket; after nine years they "must do their work'. Following this hint, they broke down the "wall and discovered a last puppet, on which Su P'ei's daughter "suffered no farther harm" [1].

Such simple sorcery is a constant lurking danger, against which every honest man has always to be on the alert. Wise parents, who marry a son and want a new quilt for his nuptial bed, can hardly dispense with the precaution of inviting the maker of it a few times to dinner and paying him on additional fee, for should this man conceal two paper puppets of very diminutive size within the cotton, or twist two bits of flock into something like human forms, discord is certain to arise between the young couple from the very first moment they share the bed. Great harm may also be inflicted by

---

[1] 經一載累求術士禁咒、備至而不能制。後伺其復出、旁率數十人掩捉。得一枚、視其眉目形體悉具。在人手中恒動不止、以刀斫之血流于地。遂積柴焚之。其之皆來焚所號呼、或在空中、或在地上。燒畢宅中作象人爹、翌日皆白衣號哭數日不已。

其後半歲累獲六枚、悉焚之。惟一枚得而復逸、遂逐忽乃入糞土中。蘇氏率百餘人掘糞深七八尺、得桃符、符上朱書字宛然可識云、李氏婢覺蘇氏家女作人七枚、在東、筆上、土籠中、其後九年當成。遂依破壁又得一枚、丕女自爾無恙. *Kuang i ki*; K K, ch. 369.

putting objects, or characters and signs expressing evil, into an enemy's family-grave; indeed, the felicity of the soul which dwells therein being thus destroyed, it will no longer protect and bless its offspring, and may even henceforth injure their prosperity. That the legislator takes this view, is evident from the fact that he has inserted the following lines among the commentaries on the article which treats of sorcery by means of yen-mei, charms, and spells (p. 904): "Whoever, cherishing a grudge, clandestinely puts a stake "of peach-wood into the ancestral grave of another, with intent to "frustrate the fung-shui of the same, shall be punished as if he "had used spectres in subjection, written charms, or spells, with intent "to render others ill or miserable, that is to say, two degrees less "severely than the law would demand if he had planned a murder and "begun to execute the crime, yet without inflicting any wounds — "viz. with banishment for two years. Sentence passed in Chehkiang, "in the 22nd year of the Kia khing period (A. D. 1817)"[1]. Such malpractices are by no means modern, for we have given our readers on page 1030 of Book I an excerpt from one of the Standard Histories, telling of the grave of an imperial concubine in the sixth century of our era, in which a waxen goose and other things were secretly buried, in order to further her own son's interests to the detriment of those of the emperor.

[1] 挾嫌私用桃椿釘在他人祖墳、圖破風水、比照魘魅書符咒詛欲令病苦減謀殺已行未傷二等律徒二年。嘉慶二十二年浙江案.

## CHAPTER V.

### OTHER FORMS OF SORCERY.

If it is possible to harm a person by means of souls and spirits, it may be possible also to harm him by means of his own soul, that is to say, by removing it from his body.

We have, indeed, read in the Code of Laws (see p. 871) of miscreants stealing the vital breath or soul out of men, in order to employ these in evil-doing; but no details of such soul-thefts are given there. There need not, however, be any mystery about the consequences of such thefts, since we have described in a special chapter (pp. 96 *sqq.*) the ills which the absence of his soul causes to a living man. That chapter has given us two stories of men who, without any intent to do harm, extracted souls out of women by means of evocation, connected with the use of magical charms. And on page 818 we have read of a Taoist, trying with the aid of a spell and a hook to draw the soul and life out of an enemy, this criminal work being frustrated merely by the circumstance that his victim possessed perfect command of his nervous system. The conclusion may then be drawn, that China possesses soul-thieves pursuing an object other than that of the sorcerers treated in Chapter III, who want "souls in subjection" as instruments. It can hardly be doubted that those thieves too do their work mainly by means of charms and spells. To this conclusion we are led by the following narrative:

"In Kwangsi people trust and respect 'spectre-masters'. There "were two men there, members of the tribes Ch'en and Lai, who "could catch lives, to put them in the place of those of dying men. "Families with patients frequently engaged them. When one came, "he covered a cup of water with paper, and suspended it upside "down over the bed of the patient; on the next day he came "back to see him, and if no water had trickled out all that time, "he declared that help was possible. Or he took a cock, stuck a "clean knife seven or eight inches long into its throat, and held

"the bird before the patient, suppressing his own respiration and "reciting spells; and if after the spells no blood had trickled out "of the bill of the cock, he likewise declared that help might be "afforded; he then drew the knife out of the cock, and threw it "upon the ground, and the bird flew away as before. But if a drop "of the water or the blood had trickled down, he took his departure, "unable to help.

"If a cure was possible, he put up an altar, and suspended there "some dozens of painted portraits of shen and kwei; then the "spectre-master, dressed like a woman, stepped a kang dance and "uttered spells to the sound of a gong and a drum. And when "the night had come, he made a lantern of oiled paper, and in the "open country called a soul (hwun) with an indistinct voice. Then "the soul of a soundly sleeping neighbour obeyed his call and came; "the spectre-master compelled it to take the lantern in hand and "go away, and if then he congratulated the family, the patient "recovered, while the man who had taken the lantern in hand died. "There was, however, a way to neutralize the effects of such work, "consisting in this, that whosoever heard his gong and drum in "the night, placed himself with both his feet on the ground; no "harm then occurred to him. In this way Ch'en and Lai became "rich. The hall in their house was gradually converted into a "pitch-dark place, where they sacrificed to a very large number of "images of kwei and shen[1].

[1] 廣西信奉鬼師。有陳賴二姓、能捉生替死。病家多延之。至則先取杯水覆以紙、倒懸病者床上、翌日來視、其水週時不滴者云可救。或取雄鷄一隻、貫白刀七八寸入鷄喉、提向病人身、運氣誦咒、咒畢雞口不滴血者亦云可救、拔刀擲地、雞飛如故。若滴下點水及雞血者辭去、勿救。

其可救者設一壇、掛神鬼像數十幅、鬼師作婦人粧步罡持咒、鑼鼓齊作。至夜染油紙作燈、至野外呼魂、其聲幽渺。隣人有熟睡者魂卽應聲來、鬼師遞火與之接去、後鬼師向病家稱賀、則病者愈、而來接火之人死矣。解之之術但夜聞鑼鼓聲以兩脚踏土上、便無所妨。陳賴二家以此致富。其堂宇層層陰黑、供鬼神像甚多。

"The wife of my father's younger brother fell ill, and invited the "spectre-master Lai to see her. With a sword in his hand he tried "to seize the spectre, and in the room a beast like a large bat crept "under her bed. Lai there attacked it with the character 'thunder' "written in his palm, but the fire flashed out of his hand in the "wrong direction and scorched his beard. He flew into a passion, "ordered t'ung oil to be boiled in a pan, and wrote a charm, which "he burned; and after he had stirred the oil in the pan with his "hand, the spectre was heard under the bed suing for pardon with "a chirping voice. After a while it became silent, and the woman "was restored to health.

"One day, when spectre-master Ch'en was calling upon a soul "on behalf of a family, he saw a girl in blue clothes slowly ap- "proach. Looking at her attentively, he recognized his own daughter, "who came to take the lantern in hand. Greatly startled he flung "the light to the ground, slapped her on the back, and hurried "home to look at his daughter, who just awoke from her sleep "with a shudder, saying: 'I came because I dreamt you were calling "me'. And the blue linen gown she wore bore the greasy marks "of his hand.

"In Kwei-lin, the prefect Wei had a daughter lying dangerously "ill. His wife invited Ch'en to come and see her, and Ch'en "demanded a hundred coins; but the prefect, a severe man, had "him arrested, flogged with sticks, and sent to gaol; yet the "spectre-master smiled, and said: 'beware of remorse for the "blows inflicted on me'. While they flogged the spectre-master, the "daughter suddenly cried from her bed: 'Ch'en orders two spectres "to flog my buttocks with sticks; they are putting me in gaol'. "The affrighted wife forthwith demanded that he should be set free; "she promised him double pay, but Ch'en said: 'While at work "I have been scared by evil spirits; my best efforts will now be "powerless'. And the girl died" [1].

---

[1] 余嬸母患病、呼賴鬼師視之。賴持劍捕鬼、房中有物如大蝙蝠投入床下。賴用掌心雷擊之、火倒出燒賴鬚。賴大怒、令煎一鍋桐油、書符燒之、以手攪鎬中油、聞床下鬼啾啾求饒。久之而絕、嬸病果愈。

一日者陳鬼師爲某家呼魂、見藍衣女再再來。

Yet other means are mentioned in China of depriving a living man of his soul. We have seen on pp. 108 *seq.* that a soul, while outside a man when he is sleeping, may be sorcerously prevented from returning into him by means of sacrificial articles placed beside his bed; thinking this is a funeral offering, the soul will then believe the man to be dead, and go elsewhere, thus causing death actually to follow. The same effect may, according to many, be reached by painting or blackening a sleeping man's face, whereby the wandering soul will fail to recognize him on returning.

Our chapters cannot, of course, make any pretence to depict the whole field of Chinese sorcery. The domain of Animism indeed is extensive enough to allow of the invention of sorcerous tricks and practices in indefinite numbers. There also exists sorcery in which no animistic element appears visibly, so that it is doubtful whether it falls within the compass of our work. Such is for instance black magic exerted directly upon the victim, his image, name, or horoscope, either by means of charms or spells, or by ill-treatment of any kind.

The reader knows that charms and spells used for letting loose malicious spectres upon men, are commands, formulae imposing obedience. Their use consequently implies an implicit belief in the power and efficacy of words written or spoken. Felicitations, curses, and words in general arouse thoughts of realities, and thoughts may be strong enough to convince simple minds that the realities are present. Words therefore effectuate what they express; they do not merely represent realities, but are the realities themselves. This principle has been illustrated in this work by various customs and

---

逼視之卽其所生女來接火。陳大驚、擲火于地、以掌擊其背、急歸視女、女方睡驚覺云、夢中聞爺呼故來。所衣藍布衫上手掌油迹宛然。

桂林魏太守女病危。夫人延陳鬼師視之、陳索百金爲謝、太守素方嚴、拘而杖之、將置之獄、鬼師笑曰、杖我毋後悔。方杖鬼師女忽於床上呼曰、陳鬼師命二鬼杖我臀、拉我入獄。夫人大恐、力勸放之、許以重謝、陳曰、業爲祟鬼所驚、吾力不能。女竟死. *Tsze puh yü*, ch. 17.

usages [1]; it is a principal factor in Chinese exorcising and religious magic, and will as such come to the foreground in particular in Chapter XII of the next Part of this Book, and regularly later on.

Hence it necessarily follows, that spells and charms which express evil amply suffice for the performance of sorcery, and no auxiliary or intermediary spectres are wanted. Charms and spells were, in fact, (see pp. 829 *seq.* and 832) used against Wu of the Han dynasty, and it therefore seems admissible that they were instruments of sorcery in much earlier times, considering also that we find them in use among peoples in very low stages of civilisation. That the penal laws of China have for many centuries attached to their use the same punishments as to the use of "spectres in subjection", we have seen from the article translated on page 904.

Charms and spells for purposes of sorcery, whether they convey orders to the spectres, or express the harm which is to be inflicted, generally do so in occult forms or terms, into the particulars of which, owing to the want of data, we cannot enter. They may, however, have the simplest form imaginable; a shred of paper, for instance, inscribed with the character 殺 or 煞 "to kill", and hidden in the clothes of somebody, even in those which he does not wear, may suffice to kill him and all his family. Characters expressing disease or any evil whatever, may be concealed in an enemy's house, nay, even a scrawl of strokes and dots may harm him and his family, because perchance something resembling a letter may be formed therein. A character representing a spectre may render a man's house a prey to any devil desired, especially if the sorcerer enhances its operation by means of spells. The written name of an insect may make his dwelling the haunt of vermin, or at every meal ruin the appetite of the family by suddenly producing in the bowls and dishes cockroaches, centipedes, or lice. In short, sorcery here has the widest scope; everything imaginable may find a place in it. We have seen in this work so many symbolic representations of felicity actually producing felicity in the opinion of the Chinese, that we cannot but allow that representations of evil, however faint or fantastic they be, ought to be believed by them to produce evil; and all such representations may be classed by us in the long list of sorcerous charms.

Charms and spells may also serve rogues to benumb the senses of others, so as to cause them to fall into traps and snares. So

1 See the Index of Book I, **Characters** and **Words**.

firmly do the Chinese believe in the reality of such dangers that the Code of Laws contains a notice, to this effect: "There exists a "murderous, detestable rabble who use charms and spells, herbs "or food to decoy boys and girls, in order to dismember them, or "to roast or rob their brains and marrow. Such people must be "traced and arrested by the district magistrates, arraigned, and "punished. Should any of these authorities fall short in discovering "them, they shall be degraded two steps (in the record of merits "in the Board of Civil Office)" [1].

It is interesting to read also in Chinese books, that harm may be wrought upon a victim by pronouncing evil over characters expressing the year, month, day, and hour of his birth, and that this circumstance is made use of by sorcerers to fascinate those whose life they want to "pluck out", or whose soul they want to rob (see pp. 872, 875, 905). Those characters are eight in number, forming four binomiums from the sexagenary cycles (Book I, p. 103) used for counting years, days, months and hours. They constitute the horoscope of the man, which determines his fate for ever; therefore to injure this horoscope is to injure his fate. To write them down and inscribe imprecations across, or pronounce curses and spells on them, or harm them in any other way, is to apply cruelly the ethnic law of association and identification of representations with their realities. In Amoy a common trick also is to paste a shred of paper, bearing those birth-dates as well as the name of the victim, upon the bell of some temple, because every peal when the bell is rung will then shake and stir his person and fortunes most tremendously.

Fortunately there are many people against whom sorcery in whatever form, and in this form in particular, is powerless. These are they whose four natal binomiums are, according to almanacks or soothsayers, or even in spite of those books and men, all of first-rate quality; of these children of fortune the eight characters are "heavy" [2], thus forming a natural destiny which is as good as an impregnable stronghold defying all attacks. But woe to those whose eight characters are "light" [3]! these are they whom sorcerers victimize.

---

[1] 兇惡匪徒有用符咒藥餌迷騙子女、毀其肢體、炙取腦髓等事。地方官務訪拏懲辦。若有失察者降二級. Ch. 25, 4th title, 罟人罟賣人.

[2] 重. [3] 輕.

Persons who become silly or idiots are commonly looked upon as victims of sorcerous attacks made upon their horoscopes.

Everybody in Amoy occasionally has to place his horoscope in the hands of soothsayers, chronomancers and geomancers for the purpose of allowing them to derive predictions from it with regard to its owner's fate, fortunes, and chances of success in his enterprises. No wonder therefore that those professors of occult arts lie under constant suspicion of sorcery, or at least of betraying for money horoscopes to those who want them for works of iniquity. No wonder also that every man of cunning and prudence seeks protection by a most careful concealment of the two characters which denote the hour of his birth; the other six define his birth with less precision, and therefore are not so dangerous to his fate in malicious hands. The objection to divulging natal hours is so great, that in written prayers addressed to gods and ancestors at sacrifices, in which the offerers, in order to obey established custom, are wont to describe themselves with some precision, they only inscribe the year, month and day of their birth, replacing the horary characters by the neutral term "auspicious hour" [1].

Charms and spells may also inflict every sort of harm on a victim if they are made to work upon something representing his body. The reader remembers that we have demonstrated (pp. 339 *sqq.*) how closely the Chinese are wont to associate beings with their likenesses. They then are perfectly aware that it is possible to harm a man by maltreating or cursing an image of his; he will then suffer everything which the image suffers, especially if the identity between both is intensified by writing on the image the name and horoscope of the man. This method, according to my native informants, is extensively practised. In Amoy the images used for the purpose are mostly very roughly made of two bamboo splinters fastened together crosswise, on one side of which is pasted some paper supposed to represent a human body. They are not larger than a hand, and those of men are distinguished from those of women by two shreds of paper, said to be boots. They are called *t'òe sin* [2], "substitutes or surrogates of a person", and may be had, for a cash or so a piece, in every shop where paper articles are made and sold for sacrifice to the dead and the gods, for they are also burnt as slaves for the dead in the other world. In particular they are used for exorcising practices and religious magic, to be

[1] 吉時. [2] 替身.

described by us afterwards. Even a few straws, bound together crosswise, suffice for sorcerous ends, the identity of a person with his surrogate being not nearly so much established by its form as by his name and horoscope, attached to it on paper [1].

Menfolk generally assert that this form of black art is especially practised by the fair sex. Hatred of tyrannous husbands; mutual jealousy of wives and concubines, aroused by a partial distribution of sexual and other favours by the common husband; domestic quarrels and animosities of all sorts, from which no home in China is exempt, are things which easily convert female apartments into nurseries of occult iniquity. Besmearing the "substitute" of a rival with faeces, or throwing it into the privy, in order to infect herself with a foul smell which may turn the husband's affection into aversion, is there the order of the day, and so is burial of substitutes, or thrashing them amidst loud curses and maledictions, female slaves showing special ingenuity in such refined malpractices.

The use of "surrogates" also has the advantage of enabling sorcerers and sorceresses to hurt their victims in whatever parts of their bodies they desire. If the puppet's eyes are pierced with a nail, pin or needle, and at the same time the proper spell or curse is pronounced, the victim may become blind, especially if the pricking object is not removed; a pin in the belly may produce colic; in the heart it may entail death; the more pricks, and the louder the spells, the more certain is the effect. In this way poor Moon-in-the-west was treated (p. 876). Surrogates are often thrown away in busy streets, in order that the crowd may trample them; but he whose eyes fall upon one is sure to turn aside, and will spit upon it to annul its effects. In all cases, such sorcery is more effectual if the connexion of the surrogate with the "object" is intensified by passing it beforehand over him, or hiding it in his clothes for a time, or under his chair or bed.

In Amoy it is said to be far from unusual to bring "objects" by means of puppets of sorcery within the grip of spirits of low rank in the service of the God of Walls and Moats or of the Eastern Mountain; indeed, these gods are the judges of human souls, who often order their underlings to extract souls out of living men and draw them before their tribunals. When a man deems himself

1 It is clear that the use of puppets of sorcery thus inscribed rests on the same principle which underlies the use of soul-tablets for the dead, these being likewise assimilated with individuals because they bear their names, dates of birth and death, and other particulars descriptive of their persons.

wronged by another, he may successfully hide a paper substitute of him close by the image of a lictor in the temple of one of those gods, at the same time enjoining on that being by means of imprecation with a sacrifice of some food or dainties, to arrest the soul of the wrong-doer, in order that this may suffer before the divine judge just the same terrible torture which terrestrial mandarins are wont to inflict on men whom they arraign. In the temple of the Eastern Mountain is a large cylinder of wood, which, revolving perpendicularly on an axis, lifts the souls of women who died in the state of contamination by childbirth, out of a tank of blood in which they abide in hell to expiate that state. Women do not shrink from throwing substitutes of members of their sex under this instrument of salvation, in order that these women may die in childbed and be plunged into that tank.

The method of causing injury by means of images apparently is old. We have read of puppets in the account of the great k u incident of the Han dynasty, which may have been "spectres in subjection", though the possibility is not excluded that they were "substitutes" of Wu's own august person buried in the ground, either to cause sympathetically his death and burial, or in order to receive his soul-substance on his passing by, and thus become fit for being operated on successfully. It is a fact that in the historical account of a similar event in A.D. 453, upon which we have touched on page 1408 of Book I, it is explicitly stated that the puppets used were images of the emperor. That account is of sufficient interest to be related in its entirety:

"There was a female w u, Yen Tao-yuh by name, who pretended "to have communication with spiritual influences and beings (l i n g), "and to possess the faculty of having in her employ spectral beings" [1]. Being introduced to an imperial princess by her slave woman Wang Ying-wu [2], she gained the favour of Shao [3], the crown-prince, and of Siün [4], the second prince, "who respectfully employed her "and called her Celestial Master; and after her directions they made "wu-ist k u, and made an image of the emperor, consisting of a "puppet of jade, which they buried in front of the Han-chang hall" [5].

[1] 有女巫嚴道育、自言通靈、能役使鬼物.
[2] 王鸚鵡. [3] 劭. [4] 濬.
[5] 劭等敬事、號曰天師、後遂爲巫蠱、以玉人爲上形像、埋於含章殿.

Those princes indeed were conscious of many offences, which they feared their father might discover and punish. Wang Ying-wu was their accomplice, together with Ch'en T'ien-hing [1], a male slave of the princess, brought up by Wang Ying-wu and used by her for the satisfaction of her sexual appetites. Yet a fourth in the sorcery plot was the eunuch Khing Kwoh [2]. The princess happened to die, and Wang Ying-wu was thereupon given by the crown-prince as a concubine to one of his officers, named Ch'en Hwai-yuen [3], who discovered her secret relation with Ch'en T'ien-hing. On his request the crown-prince put this slave to death. This execution filled Khing Kwoh with fears, it being well known that he too was one of Wang Ying-wu's intimate friends; hence, to save himself, he revealed the sorcery to the emperor. This occurred in the seventh month of the year 452.

The Son of Heaven had Ying-wu arrested. Her dwelling was searched, and this led to the discovery of a great many papers from Shao and Siün, all relating to spells and w u-ist k u; also the buried image was found. Tao-yuh managed to escape, and was sought in vain, even in the provinces. The two princes did not even try to purge themselves of their guilt, and at once made open confession. The younger one took the missing woman with him to the river-port of the capital, and from there into the northern army, under disguise of a Buddhist nun, and he even ventured to return with her to the capital in the second month of next year.

But all this iniquity was betrayed to the emperor by two female slaves. He divested Shao of his dignity of heir-apparent, and ordered Siün to commit suicide. These sentences were a signal for these princes to try a *coup d'état*. In the early morning, while the guards were still sleeping, Shao made an onset on the Palace, and his partisan Chang Ch'ao-chi [4] killed the emperor, cutting off his five fingers. Several grandees were slain; Shao placed himself on the throne, and adopted the style of reign T'ai ch'u [5] or "the very first beginning", suggested to him by Tao-yuh.

But the third imperial prince, lawful successor in consequence of the deposition of the eldest and the condemnation of the second, raised a large power in the provinces. After a short campaign and a naval struggle on the Yang-tsze, his troops conquered the

---

1 陳天興. 2 慶國. 3 沈懷遠.
4 張超之. 5 太初.

capital, which was pacified by means of twenty-two days of great bloodshed. Shao, found in a well in the arsenal, was decapitated; Siün escaped on horseback from the city, but had to surrender to the general of the victorious army, who beheaded him. Their wives, concubines and children were put to death or compelled to commit suicide. The heads of the princes were exposed on stakes, and afterwards thrown into the Yang-tszĕ together with their bodies. Their faction was exterminated; Chang Ch'ao-chi's body was partly devoured by the soldiers, partly burned (see p. 369). Shao, compelled to betray the place where he had hidden the imperial seals, said they were in the abode of Yen Tao-yuh. This entailed new searches for her and for Wang Ying-wu; they were discovered, and publicly flogged to death; their corpses were burned, and the ashes strewed in the Yang-tszĕ [1].

The principle that images are physically connected with that which they represent is stated without reservation in the practice of sorcery. People have told me with the utmost seriousness that shipowners and merchants are not seldom ruined by enemies furtively drawing the faint outlines of a junk somewhere at the entrance of their houses with the bow pointing to the street; their ships then sail out, but do not return. In one of the celebrated tales of P'u Sung-ling we read:

"A man in Shansi, whose names I have forgotten, a member of "the White Lotus sect and a disciple of Sü Hung-jü [2], misled the "masses by heterodox doctrines, and many who wished to learn "his magic worshipped him as their master. One day having to "depart, he placed a basin in the main apartment of his house, "and covered it with another basin, telling his disciple to sit down "by it and watch it, without, however, lifting up the cover to "see. But after his departure the disciple did what had been for- "bidden him, and saw that there was clean water in the basin "and a ship of plaited straw floating on it, fully rigged with sails "and masts. His curiosity induced him to take it up with his "fingers, but it was capsized thereby; he set it up in its former "position, and put the cover over it, when suddenly his master "came back. 'Why have you disobeyed me?' he angrily exclaimed. "The disciple retorted he had done nothing, but the master said:

1 Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 99; History of the South, ch. 14.

2 A rebellious leader of the Lotus-sect who assumed imperial dignity in Shantung in the period of the downfall of the Ming dynasty. See my Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China, pp. 167 *seq.*

"'Do you think you can deceive me? My ship has just now "capsized at sea'" [1].

There is standard history to prove that the Chinese even deem it possible to destroy conjugal affection by operating on emblems thereof painted or drawn. In the History of the Kin Dynasty we read the following incident, which occurred in A.D. 1209: "The "late emperor (Chang Tsung [2]) had had his special favourites, of "whom the lady Li (his principal concubine) was jealous. She told "a female wu, named Li Ting-nü, to make a human image of paper "and wood, and a charm representing a couple of mandarin ducks "(which are in China symbols of conjugal attachment, see Book I, "p. 471), and to direct "spectres in subjection" to use these, "in order to cut short the line of the imperial progeny with those "things. As nobody could fully explain what evil she had done, "the emperor, as soon as the matter had transpired, ordered a "high officer to submit her to an interrogation, and on her "confessing everything, commissioned high ministers to examine "her; and as these grandees obtained no other results, the judges "pronounced her worthy of death in accordance with the laws, "demanding, however, that she should be reprieved on account of "her having for so long a time bestowed care on the late sovereign. "But now imperial princes and officers came forward with a "memorial demanding that the emperor should definitely order her "to put an end to herself" [3]. Her mother, crazed with age, was

---

[1] 白蓮教某者山西人、忘其姓名、大約徐鴻儒之徒、左道惑衆、慕其術者多師之。某一日將他往、堂中置一盆、又一盆覆之、囑門人坐守、戒勿啟視。去後門人啟之、視盆貯清水、水上編草爲舟、帆檣具焉。異而撥以指、隨手傾側、急扶如故、仍覆之、俄而師來。怒責何違吾命。門人立白其無、師曰、適海中舟覆、何得欺我. *Liao-tsai chi i*, ch. 5.

[2] 章宗.

[3] 先皇平昔或有幸御、李氏嫉妬。令女巫李定奴作紙木人鴛鴦符、以事魘魅致絶聖嗣。所爲不軌莫可殫陳、事既發露遣大臣按問、俱已款服命宰臣往審、亦如之、有司議法當極刑、以其

put to death; her two brothers, high grandees, were divested of all their dignities and banished, and some accomplices of high rank were rigorously punished or executed.

Not only likenesses, names and horoscopes may serve for inflicting sorcery, but also parts of the body and clothing of the "object". This shows that either the connexion between such things and the individual himself is not deemed to be broken, or a portion of the latter is identified or associated with him, since, like his image, name or horoscope, it calls up thoughts of him, or such a portion is deemed to contain a part of his soul. We know that fragments of a dead man contain substance of his soul; why then should this not be the case with fragments of a living man?

Hairs, nail-clippings, even droppings, are efficient instruments of sorcery, as well as old shoes and garments, queue-threads, buttons, etc.; caning or burning, imprecating or chanting spells over such things may render the former owner ill or unhappy, or may even kill him. Hence it passes for prudence not to give cast-off garments to paupers or beggars. Such sorcery is no doubt performed in China on a extensive scale. Ch'en Tsang-khi in the eighth century advised that "hair af a runaway person should be taken and laid out "crosswise on the woof of a loom; he will then get so confused "that he will not know where to go" [1]. By application of the same principle, injury may be inflicted upon cattle, dogs and cats of an enemy, and may make these ill, stubborn or mad, nay even his lifeless possessions may in this way be spoiled or destroyed. We read of "a wu in the district of Teng-ch'ing, which forms a "part of Siang-yang (Hupeh pr.), who could spoil the brew ot "spirit-distillers by sorcery, and therefore was feared and respected "by all wineshop-keepers. In every spring and autumn he visited "their shops to collect gifts, and they gave him 20,000 coins "in each of the dozen shops which were there, and for this "pay they enjoyed peace the whole year round. Once he was "short of money for some reason, and applied to a well-to-do "distiller for some additional pay, but was put off with a scornful "refusal. Therefore, on leaving the shop, he bought a pint of

---

久侍先帝欲免其死。王公百僚執奏堅確令賜李氏自盡. Ch. 64, l. 14.

[1] 人逃走取其髮于緯車上邪轉之、則迷亂不知所適 *Pen-ts'ao kang mu*, ch. 52, l. 2.

"liquor, put it into a small vase, and stirred some dung into "it; subsequently he repaired to a copse to pace a Yü dance and "mutter spells, and having walked there several times around the "mixture, he buried it in the ground, and went away. On a sudden "the whole row of jars in the distillery emitted a stench of dung. "A Taoist doctor said: 'I possess a magical art which may remedy "this evil, but the liquor already spoiled it is too late to save'. "Burning incense, he applied his art, with the result that after "half a day the stench had disappeared" [1].

Our chapters on Chinese sorcery, though very deficient, have mentioned much which has been found to occur also among other peoples of the earth, including not a few at a low stage of civilisation. We learn from Sui Yuen that Chinese sorcery also has traits in common with sorcery of non-Chinese people living in Hainan island. "In Yai-cheu, which belongs to Kwangtung, one half of "the inhabitants are Li natives, divided into barbarous Li and "civilised Li. Among the fair sex of this people there are women "who keep spectres in subjection, and are able to bewitch men by "means of spells so well that they die. They perform their sorcery by "getting possession of some hair from the beard or the head of the "man who is to be belaboured with spells, or a bit of a penang "nut which he has spat out; having put this in a bamboo case, the "sorceress lies down in the night on the top of a hill in a state "of nature, her face upwards, working upon it under the stars and "the moon with charms and spells, with the result that the man "dies on the seventh day. Not the slightest injury is then to be "discovered on his body, which is as supple as cotton. Those "hags can bewitch none but Li people; Chinese are beyond their "reach. If those injured by their attacks arrest one and take her

[1] 襄陽鄧城縣有巫師、能用妖術敗酒家所釀、凡開酒坊者皆畏奉之。每歲春秋必遍謁諸坊求丐、年計十餘家率各與錢二十千、則歲內平喜。巫偶因他事窘用、又詣富室求益、拒之甚峻。巫出買酒一升、盛以小缶、取糞汚攪雜、往林麓禹步誦咒、環繞數匝、埳之於地、乃去。俄酒家列甕盡作糞臭。有道士曰、吾有術能療、但已壞者不可救耳。卽焚香作法、半日許臭止. TS, sect. 藝術, ch. 810.

"to the magistrate, they are sure to pass the rope, which they "sling round her neck in order to drag her thither, through a long "bamboo, lest she may get near them and bewitch them. These "hags pretend that, if the period (of seven days) should elapse "without the sorcery taking effect, they themselves must die. Some "among them perform such practices when still young, even "before their marriage. The art has been transmitted to them by "their ancestors. Their spells are very occult. Such witches may "be beaten to death without betraying each other. Only sorceresses "of this kind exist, and no sorcerers, the art being delivered by "the women exclusively to their own sex" [1].

---

[1] 奧東崖州居民半黐黎人、有生黎有熟黎之分。黎女有禁覡婆、能禁咒人致死。其術取所咒之人或鬚髮、或吐餘柹榔、納竹筒中、夜間赤身仰臥山頂、對星月施符誦咒、至七日其人必死。遍體無傷而其軟如綿。但能覡黎人、不能害漢人。受其害者擒之鳴官、必先用長竹筒穿索、扣其頸項下曳之而行、否則近其身必爲所禁覡矣。據婆云不禁覡人則過期、已身必死。婆中有年少者不及笄便能作法。蓋祖傳也。其咒語甚秘。雖杖殺之不肯告人。有禁覡婆、無禁覡公、其術傳女、不傳男. *Tsze puh yü*, ch. 21.

# INDEX

## of the Chinese books used in the preparation of this Volume, or mentioned in it, apart from those mentioned in Book I pp. XVIII *sqq.* and pp. 1427 *sqq.* and in the Index at the end of Volume IV.

The figures given refer to the page where particulars about the work may be found or its title in Chinese characters.


**C.**

Chen heu pi kih fang, 683.
Ching chi chun shing, 696.
Ch'ui kien luh wai tsih, 772.
Chung ts'ang king, 686.

**F.**

Fu-jen ta ts'üen liang fang, 789.

**H.**

Hai luh sui shi, 510.
Han-shi wai ch'wen, 535.
Hia ting chi, 521.
Hung-fan wu hing ch'wen, 491.
Hwan i chi, 903.

**I.**

I hioh ching ch'wen, 791.
I kien chi, 772.

**K.**

Khi shi luh, 618.
Khin king, 638.
Kho t'an shi ch'wen, 520.
Khüh-wuh hien chi, 569.
Ki wen, 477.
Kiang-hia chi, 650.
Kiang-nan t'ung chi, 481.
Kin kwei yao lioh, 692.
King Ch'u sui-shi ki, 643.
King yoh ts'üen shu, 689.
Ku kin i t'ung, 701.
Ku king ki, 636.
Kwang ku-kin wu hing chi, 722.
Kwang sheng pao kien, 539.
Kwei lin fung-t'u ki, 666.

**L.**

Lu-ngan fu chi, 492.
Luh i ki, 630.

**M.**

Mih khoh hwui si, 864—865.
Ming ta ching ki, 781.
Moh-fu yen hien luh, 857.

**N.**

Nan khang hi, 513.
Noh-kao ki, 502.
Nung-t'ien yü hwa, 909.

**P.**

Pi kih fang, s. Chen heu pi kih fang.
Pi kih ts'ien kin yao fang, 685.
Pi shu man ch'ao, 804.
Poh i chi, 712.
Poh-mung so yen, 527.
Poh tsch t'u, 510.
Puh-shi ts'üen-shu, 708.

**S.**

Sheh sheng yao luh, 701.
Shih shih mih' luh, 869.
Si ts'iao yé ki, 773.
Siao 'rh yoh ching chih küch, 694
Siu fah, 688.
Sin yen, 537.
Sun siang luh, 654.

**T.**

Ta T'ang khi shi ki, 618.
T'ang kwoh shi pu, 639.
T'ieh-wei shan ts'ung tan, 868.
T'ien kung khai wuh, 709.
Ts'ien kin yao fang, s. Pi kih ts'ien kin yao fang.
Tsih i chi, 607.
Tsih i ki, 608.
Tsing i ki, 788.
Ts'ing siang tsah ki, 711.
Tuh twan, 499.
T'ung suh pien, 537.
T'ung yiu ki, 479.

**W.**

Wang Tu ku king ki, s. Ku king ki.
Wei sheng i kien fang, 866.
Wei yuen, 573.
Wen-tszë chi kwei, 511,
Wu-ch'ing hien chi, 614.
Wu sch sien, 857.

**Y.**

Yang o man pih, 471.
Yü-t'i ki shing, 805.
Yuen ch'i shwoh lin, 618.
Yung-chai pih, 772.

BL
1801
G57
v.5

Groot, Jan Jakob Maria de
The religious system of China

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY